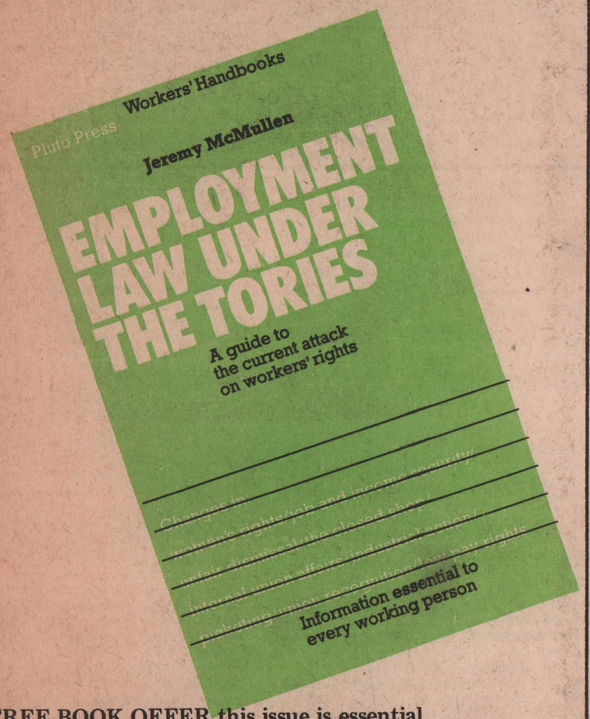
FREE BOOK FOR SUBSCRIBERS



FREE BOOK OFFER this issue is essential reading for all trade union activists: it's *Employment Law Under the Tories — a Guide to the Current Attack on Workers' Rights*, to be published by Pluto at the end of March. It costs £1.95 in the shops, but you can have it for free if you take out a year's subscription. The book covers industrial action, picketing, union organisation, recognition, low pay and codes of practice, women's rights, job and income security, and unfair dismissal.

A year's subscription for an individual costs £10. For an institution (government departments, TU head offices, companies, libraries etc) it's £15, and they don't get the book. A foreign sub costs £15 as well, and there's no book either.

A supporting subscription costs £20 and gives us a healthy subsidy and you the right to vote at our general meetings.

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"I enclose a cheque for £20 for the Wages Fund — keep up the good work." That was a letter that greeted us last week, and it brought the total raised since we launched the fund at the beginning of the year over £320.

The money is used to pay for our new system of part-time workers, and it has proved invaluable. But we'll be needing a lot more if we're to make a success of the fortnightly.

So, if you want to see *The Leveller* grow, please rush us a donation — no matter how small — to:

Leveller Wages Fund, 57 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DN. (Cheques/POs payable to Leveller (1979) Ltd Fortnightly Fund). And thank you . . .

the Leveller

The *Leveller* is an independent magazine, produced regularly by an open and democratic collective. It sets itself the following main tasks in its journalism and political behaviour:

- To challenge capitalism, patriarchy, racism and other forms of oppression.
- To support people in struggle against patriarchy, racism, capital and state.
- To promote socialist/feminist ideas and to act as a forum for people involved in these struggles.
- To challenge bourgeois ideology.
- To encourage cooperation and comradely debate between socialists and feminists.

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Space Shuttle
Russian Feminist

No. 51 March 6 — 20 1981 40p

12034 L

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Leveller open meeting

Can you? Typeset, layout copy, deal with finances, work a process camera, subedit, proof read, raise money, organize gigs, co-ordinate leaflet campaigns, or would you like to learn? Then we're interested in you.

Leveller collective meetings are open, but for anyone coming for the first time it can be a confusing and intimidating experience: there are a lot of people at the meetings who know each other and are getting on madly producing the magazine, which leaves them little time to say 'hello' and explain what is happening.

So we're holding an open meeting for people interested in getting involved in the magazine where we will be able to explain the *Leveller's* workings, and hopefully you'll want to get involved.

On Saturday 21st March at 2.00pm at the Leveller 57 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

journeyman

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Fri. 6th March at 8pm. The Star Club, Essex Street, Birmingham.
Sat. 7th March at 8pm. The Smiling Man Pub, Dudley.
Tue. 10th. March at 8pm. Manchester Polytechnic, Cavendish Street, Manchester. (Cavendish Lecture Theatre).
Wed. 11th March at 8pm. Calverton Miners Welfare Club (provisional).
Thurs. 12th March at 8pm. West Bridgford College (provisional).
Fri 13 March at 8pm. Nottingham University.
Wed. 18th March at 2pm. Manchester Polytechnic, Aytoun Street, Manchester.
Fri 20th March at 8pm. Hattersley Community Centre, Hyde, Cheshire.
Sat 21st March at 7.45pm. Clarence Hotel, corner of Bolton Street and Silver Street, Bury.
Saturday 28th March at 9pm. The Globe, High Street West, Glossop.
Mon 30th March at 8pm. Everyman Bistro, Hope Street, Liverpool.

For further details phone Lynn Moss on Mossley 4627 or 4631.

the Leveller

No 51

Inside

FORTNIGHT 4 - 8
14-day round-up of news and events

LETTERS 9
More maltreatment in prison; *Leveller* scorned; support for *Morning Star*. Plus Lord God's Sunday afternoon in heaven

EXTRA-TERRESTRIAL NEWS 10
The space shuttle — how it falls apart. Does the left care?

WOMEN IN THE SOVIET UNION 11
Interview with an underground feminist activist

BROTHERS AND SISTERS 12 - 13
New thriller film with sexual politics as its theme

SLAVE LABOUR 14 - 15
How teenagers on job creation schemes fill the gaps in the Tory economy

BOOKS 16
Kids against the schoolyard; two books on escaping from school

VISUAL ARTS 17
Paintings from Africa

MUSIC 18
Why we should listen to Bela Bartok; plus album and singles reviews

THEATRE 19
Flourishing underground in Essex

FILM 20
Women reclaim the fight

TV 21
Who's afraid of fact/fiction?

CLASSIFIED ADS 22

BACK PAGES 23
The free listing service for right-on doings



Adrift in space — it's a long way down for the shuttle, **page 10**

Russian feminism — the state betrays the revolution, **page 11**

Starting as they have to go on — low pay and no prospects. YOP and WEEP, **pages 14-15**



Terry O'Brien

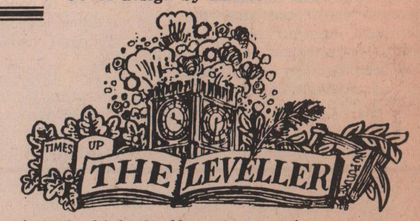
Cover design by Laurie Evans

THE LEVELLER's great 50th issue event — the Teach-In on The State — is this Saturday, March 7, at the Polytechnic of Central London, 115 New Cavendish St, London W1.

It runs continuously from 11am to 7pm, and is set to be quite a day. This is the concept:

Off a central congragation area, with stalls, a creche, food and drink all day, discussions will take place in two rooms; four sessions, of about two hours each with breaks in each. The discussions are:

The State and Labour (introduced by a film, 'Dawson J', on police surveillance of labour activity); the State as Employer; the State as Investor (intervention in the economy); and the State as Guardian (welfare) in one. And in the other: the State and Women (patriarchy, women on the streets); the State and 'Minorities' (black and gay people, criminals and prisoners, young people and druggies); the State's military and security arms (police and armed forces, intelligence, Ireland, introduced again with a film, 'Home Soldier Home'); and a final session: Ways of Resistance.

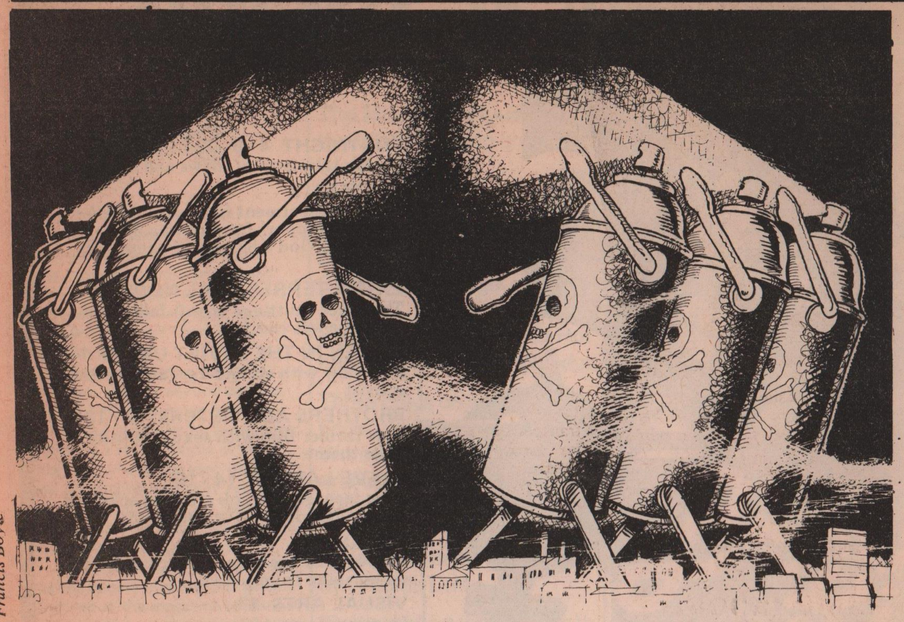


Each session is to be kicked off by three or four people active in the fields concerned; then discussion will be free.

Participants include: At Ease, In and Against the State, State Research, Information on Ireland, Joint Trades Council Enquiry on State Intervention, Release, Troops Out, Gay Noise, Labour Campaign on Gay Rights, English Collective of Prostitutes, Legalise Cannabis Campaign, and various researchers, lawyers, journalists, citizens and troublemakers, and possibly a few large nattily-dressed men from the other side.

Admission is £2 for waged and £1 for unwaged citizens, for which you will get a consummation greatly not to be missed.

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Francis Boyle

Stop the drive towards chemical war

LAST WEEK the Bertrand Russell Peace Committee launched a campaign against chemical and biological weapons. It starts at a time when there is increasing pressure from the United States to build up stocks of nerve gases and biological weapons, and when the British public is being accustomed to the idea that British troops are now equipped for defence against a possible Soviet CBW attack. Although Ministerial statements in Parliament have said that the Government has no plans for British CBW armament, they have always been carefully worded and carry no commitment for the future.

Speaking last week at the campaign launching meeting in the House of Lords Julian Perry Robinson, of the Science Policy Research Unit at Sussex University, said that there was now: 'talk within the Ministry of Defence of Britain re-arming with poison gas'. Pointing out that some chemical and biological weapons are already stockpiled in US depots in Southern Germany even though chemical warfare is prohibited by international law, Robinson argued: 'The next US defence budget is likely to provide for a greatly accelerated programme of chemical warheads for ground-launched cruise missiles.'

Although most European governments have rebuffed attempts by the Americans to stockpile chemical weapons British governments have an unpleasant habit of making major defence decisions without consulting Parliament or the public. The new campaign is aimed first at raising consciousness within the scientific community, then broadening that campaign to the general public. An appeal signed by 19 leading academics is being circulated: it calls on scientists not to participate in any research associated with the development or production of chemical weapons and urges the government to continue the policy of not allowing the production and stockpiling of chemical weapons in the UK.

In June 1979 Barney Hayhoe, Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Army told Parliament that 'there are no plans to equip BAOR with a retaliatory chemical capacity', while a year later Mrs Thatcher said 'we have no present plans to build up an offensive chemical warfare capability'. Yet in the meantime Francis Pym, the then Defence Secretary, announced that the MoD was indeed considering whether Britain ought to develop a realiatory CW capability. Pym made his announcement to the press in April 1980, at the time of the Defence White Paper, and though the Paper only made mention of Soviet developments and UK anti gas protective measures, it now seems that he was doing more than merely flying a kite.

For, the campaign Briefing Notes suggest, in the meantime the Government came under pressure to collaborate in US developments, both from the American Department of Defence and from within the British Army — who argued that if the Soviet Union had CBW, then it was a gap that they too wanted filled. In a careful analysis of 17 Parliamentary statements from June 1979 to January 1981 the Notes say: 'Through repeated references to the menace of Soviet poison gas and through repeated slighting and misleading comment on American capabilities the Government has prepared Parliament for a shift of policy on CW armaments which, if it happens, the Defence Secretary has undertaken to announce — provided, that is, the Government decides announcement is required.'

The exact wording of this Catch 22 position comes from Francis Pym's oral answer to Labour MP Albert Duffy in June 1980, when he said: 'the Soviet Union ... is improving and developing its (CW) techniques, which represents a risk to us. It would be a controversial decision if any change in our policy were made and I do not anticipate any such change, but the problem does not go away and neither does the risk. It is part of my responsibility to think about that with our allies. *If we come to any conclusions that require an announcement, I shall make it,* but I have no such intention at present.'

The only countries which are publicly known to stockpile modern lethal chemical weapons are France, the USA and the Soviet Union and, though there have been rumours that both the US and the USSR have supplied their allies with CB weapons, none of the stories have been clearly substantiated. The United States certainly conducted biological warfare on an unprecedented scale in Vietnam and is known to be developing its binary gas capability. (Binary gases are composed of two separate chemicals which only become lethal when mixed: there have been suggestions that they are able to evade treaty commitments not to store CBW weaponry in the UK by shipping in the components in separate containers and thus adhering to the letter if not the spirit of the agreement.)

The current popular impression put about by Western sources is that the Soviet Union maintains large stocks of modern chemical and biological weapons, and that they are quite prepared to use them in a battlefield capacity and as a first-strike weapon — unlike the Americans who have always argued that they would use them only for retaliation

Much of the propaganda about Soviet CBW intentions comes from misleading and exaggerated intelligence sources. A multiplicity of storage depots, especially in forward areas, would suggest a high state of preparedness to use the weapons, yet US intelligence has only discovered one such forward base at an East German airfield, while it has produced no evidence at all of any large-scale production of CW agents for the last decade. Asked in Parliament to substantiate its belief in the growing menace of Soviet poison gas, the British government has twice refused to do so — on the grounds that 'to do so would not be in the national interest'; while the exact nature of the Soviet offensive, as opposed to defensive, capacity is obscured on security grounds from US Congressional records.

David Clark

Kaleidoscope conference

'THE STATE isn't neutral. That's what we've learnt from the enquiry', said a Rolls Royce shop steward from Coventry. 'Now we have to talk about building political power from below': the President of Newcastle Trades Council.

These were the themes which occurred throughout last weekend's conference organised by Coventry Trades Council to follow up the enquiry into State Intervention in Industry which they doncuted together with Liverpool, Newcastle and North Tyneside Trades Councils.

But political power built from below is not easy to visualise when shop floor organisations are, in the main, still feeling fragile after the body blows of the last Labour Government and those of the present employers' offensive. As a result the conference at times seemed like a kaleidescope without any pattern; a wealth of local trades council experiences, combine committee initiatives, research centre investigations, and so on, but little debate about strategy.

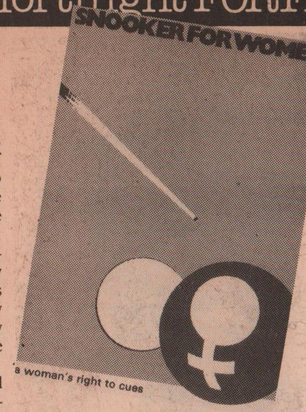
In some ways the conference was a missed opportunity. The 150 delegates who turned up in spite of snow-blocked motorways and diverted trains represented a good cross section of trade union and community based organisations.

There was the basis for a very useful discussion about a strategy on industrial and economic issues different from those aspects of Labour Party policy which rely so heavily and so disastrously on the existing state apparatus. Some useful contributions *were* made. But the problem was that discussion launched into the nitty gritty of strengthening our grass roots organisations before really debating the policies and strategy to which we hope to win these organisations.

Still, the conference was a bold attempt to start discussing the practical meaning of 'working class political power'; and to elaborate an 'economics of social need'. By the end most people were sufficiently hopeful to want to continue the discussion and joint work in a way that also strengthens their activity. The four trades councils will be meeting on April 25th to consider in more detail what form this continued joint work on industrial and economic strategy could take (especially between trades councils). They invited other trades councils and conference participants to become involved. (For further details contact Colin Linsey, c/o 40, Binley Rd, Coventry. The Trades Council Book, *State Intervention in Industry, a Workers' Inquiry,* £2, is available from the same address.)

Hilary Wainwright

'Fortnight' seeks more contributors — particularly from women and from readers outside London. Write in for a copy of our Contributors' Notes.



Postcard issued for Ericca, the campaign for womens' rights in clubs, 10p. One of a series of 20 from Leeds Postcards, 13, Claremont Grove, Leeds 3.

Thais sell child labour

THE THAI GOVERNMENT is advertising child labour as bait to attract investment to the country. Thailand has 3.5 million working children who get as little as 45p per day. Although Thai law prohibits the employment of any child under twelve in industry the current *Thailand Investment Handbook,* produced by the government's Board of Trade, carries a photograph of a group of girls with the caption "Inexpensive Labour; Thailand's major investment appeal". At least 3,000 government registered factories and 5,000 unregistered factories are using under-age children.

A government minister quoted in the Anti-Slavery Society's new report *Child Labour in Thailand* says: 'The state must support the use of child labour because it is necessary for business ... it is true that children get only 22 or 25 bahts a day in comparison to adults who get 45, but we cannot be too rigorous in opposing the use of child labour because it would reduce productivity and harm many businesses.'

Middlemen who operate child employment agencies exploit the extreme poverty of rural families by persuading the parents to part with their children on payment of a lump sum (often an advance salary for one year of £70). Once transported away the children have no further contact with their parents.

Police raids on illegal factories have found children crippled, unable to walk about being forced to sit for hours without a break, children locked into rooms where they work, with very little food and working hours as long as from 8am to 1am.

Factory owners who are caught often get away with bribing the police, according to the President of the Labour Congress of Thailand, who claims that the unions are in any case powerless in the face of a ban on strikes. Although attempts have been made to bring violations of the child labour laws to the attention of the government nothing changes. The government is well aware of the benefits of a cheap subservient labour force.

Children work in almost every occupation, particularly manufacturing and transport. Many more are self-employed as flower sellers, newspaper hawkers and shoe-shine boys. Boys tend to be more in demand in metal repairing and plastics, girls in the garment, sweet and glass industries. Nearly one thousand young girls also work in the mining and quarrying industries. At this time of year, the dry season, Bangkok's illegal workforce becomes further swollen with the arrival of children from the poverty-stricken and drought-prone North-East region.

Nick Hanna

Prosser: prison death anger

THE FAMILY of a man found dead in a padded cell at Winson Green prison in Birmingham is determined that there will be no cover up. For the last two weeks, Barry Prosser's wife, children and relatives have been demonstrating outside the prison calling for renewed police inquiries.

It's not surprising that they are angry and suspicious. Barry's body was found badly bruised in a padded cell in the hospital on August 19 last year. It took six months for the DPP to find enough evidence to bring a murder charge against Melvyn Jackson — a senior officer at the prison. But when he appeared before the Stipendiary Magistrate last month, Mr John Milward decided there wasn't enough evidence to commit the prison officer for trial.

But Mrs Dorothy Prosser says the case at least should have gone before a jury. "A man has died" she told the *Leveller* last week, "and somebody must be responsible." Even Det. Chief Insp

Sunday Feb 22 saw 30 cyclists braving the sleet to raise money for Wandsworth's campaign against nuclear weapons. They rode to Cheam, site of Sub-Regional control bunker and raised over £200 to finance publicity for Wandsworth's 'Jobs Not Bombs' demonstration on March 7. Pictures — Nick Wright.



Michael Holder, who investigated the death, has told Mrs Prosser that he felt the evidence he had gathered was 'strong enough to get a conviction'.

Even if Barry Prosser wasn't murdered, the officers in the hospital wing were guilty of gross negligence. The previous night at 8pm the prison officer, Melvyn Jackson, had told the prison doctor that Prosser was violent and delirious.

The doctor saw Prosser lying face down in a cell and signed the hospital ledger confirming Jackson's statement. But when *nine* officers arrived to give him an injection, they were apparently surprised to find him hardly moving at all. In the morning he was found dead. The pathologist said he died from a kick which ruptured his stomach. His toes were broken and his body bruised.

Prosser was in the hospital wing awaiting medical reports after being found guilty of criminal damage to a door handle.

His wife objects to suggestions that her husband was a violent man. 'I was his wife for thirteen years. If he'd been violent I would have walked out.' His friends described him as a hard-working and a good natured man who mixed well.

'If he was sick,' Mrs Prosser says, 'then he needed treatment, and you won't get that in prison.' She says her family will continue their protests until somebody has been charged with Barry's murder.

Libération suspends publication

EDITORIAL STAFF and production workers of the French independent socialist daily *Libération* voted recently to suspend publication. Crises in the production of left papers are hardly exceptional but the interest of this event arises from the peculiar social terrain occupied by *Libération* in post-'68 France, and from the fact that financial pressures exercised little influence on the decision. With daily sales of over 40,000 the paper was solvent and expanding its readership.


Libération

PAYS BASQUE: Un mort chasse l'autre

Jean-Paul II chez les flagellants

SPORTS Enduro des Sables

Près de 150 000 spectateurs et 1000

Avec Sandwich le magazine de petites annonces gratuites

Une usine dans l'espace

La dernière folie des chercheurs du Centre National d'études spatiales n'est encore qu'un avant-projet.

Lire page 5

Libération

SPORTS

La vérité du doping

Espoir

Chômeurs : la plus forte augmentation

Lire page 9

Pologne

Un « Grenelle »

Launched in 1973 under the patronage of J. Paul Sartre, the first two years were marked by bitter debates about orientation: what should be in the paper? What should its relationship to its readers be? How should a self-managed enterprised be run?

The principles of equal pay for every employee from editor to typist, at a modest salary, and with an equal voice and voting right in general assemblies, were maintained to the end. Rotation of tasks was quickly shelved in a clearly-defined division of labour between journalists and production workers, and became a source of internal tension between an increasingly professional team of journalists headed by the Director, Serge July, and the production workers, guardians of the venture's collective ambitions.

The concept of a network of readers' committees in constant critical dialogue with the paper hardly got off the ground and the paper's audience was marginalised to the agit-prop columns, the small ads and the daily letters columns.

The present decision is the result of a coup mounted by July and the editorial staff, who presented the general assembly with the threat of resignation and the probable definitive closure of the journal. The meeting agreed to vest full powers over the paper's future in the person of the paper's Director: July proposes to bring out a new *Libération* from next Autumn — a more 'serious' professional paper, relying for the first time on advertising revenue and intending to abandon the last vestiges of militantism in favour of sober reporting.

Whatever its shortcomings *Libération* carved out for itself a unique place in contemporary journalism by becoming the voice of a whole range of 'marginal' social movements emerging from the dispersion of the movement of May 68. Sexual politics, movements for regional autonomy, ecology and anti-nuclear movements; immigrant workers' campaigns; prisoners' rights organisations; fights against the criminalisation of prostitution; pressure groups for the liberalisation of the drug laws; groups concerned with the politics of health, euthanasia and suicide... earning the paper a bad odour on the official left: 'The Central Organ of Despair' in the wooden optimism of a CP editorialist.

If the paper lacked a 'correct' political line its reportage nevertheless had a characteristic style, drawing on an impressive armoury of black humour, iconoclasm and ridicule, often used to withering effect against government and opposition rhetoric, and that of the official media. With its disappearance 'alternative culture' in France has lost one of its few forums.

Eamonn McArdle

Cops versus gays

WEST YORKSHIRE police have launched a campaign to intimidate and harass the gay community in Huddersfield. The short-term aim is to block renewal of a gay club's licence, which comes before magistrates on 11 March. But the NCCL has uncovered a wider police conspiracy aimed particularly at young gay men.

Unde the direction of Chief Superintendent Frank Storey, police have a policy of stopping gay men in the street, visiting them at home and work, taking them to police stations, subjecting them to forcible medical examinations and reporting them to employers and parents — sometimes alleging criminal offences.

An extraordinary information-gathering operation has also been set up with the aim of breaking what the *Huddersfield Examiner* dubbed 'a web of alleged homosexual activity'. Address books and diaries have been seized and men interrogated at police stations to give names of friends.

This strategy, pioneered by Bradford police during 1977 and taken up in Northampton in 1979, aims to compile a comprehensive dossier of 'known homosexuals' which, if rigously investigated, yields countless technical offences. Many involve males under 21 who still cannot have lawful sexual relationships.

One ploy used in Huddersfield is for a police officer to telephone parents claiming to be a friend anxious to send a birthday card. 'Oh, and by the way,' this line of inquiry continues, how *old* is he, I've forgotten.'

At the centre of an unprecedented fight back by the local gay community is the Gemini Club, one of the biggest and most profitable Northern gay clubs, serving Manchester, Leeds, Bradford and Liverpool as well as Huddersfield. Its owners say they will back a campaign with £10,000 and have won support from *Gay News*.

NCCL gay rights officer Barry Prothero said the police action was 'the most concerted and wide-ranging anti-gay campaign in the country — which not only threatens to destroy the friendships established by gay people in the area, but also damages the self-image of young people who are made to feel they are criminals because of their sexuality.' *Brian Deer*

ABOUT 1,000 gay men and women marched through the centre of Manchester last Saturday to demonstrate against gay repression. Organised by the Committee against State Repression of Gay People, it was Manchester's first gay demonstration and it drew support from gay groups throughout the country.

The reaction of the public as gay people marched through the city centre showed that there was a clear need for the demonstration. The NF thugs selling papers made their presence felt, spitting and jeering at the gays but, despite Chief Constable James Anderton's obsession for gay repression, the police presence was decidedly low key.

Selling Britain by the pound

THE GREAT British Aerospace rip-off (see *Leveller* 50) was every bit as successful as the government hoped. The issue of 100 million shares — half of the company — was three and half times oversubscribed.

In the process, the government produced a classic case of how to organise speculation. It goes like this. You announce a large share issue in a company at a bargain price — so it's likely to be oversubscribed.

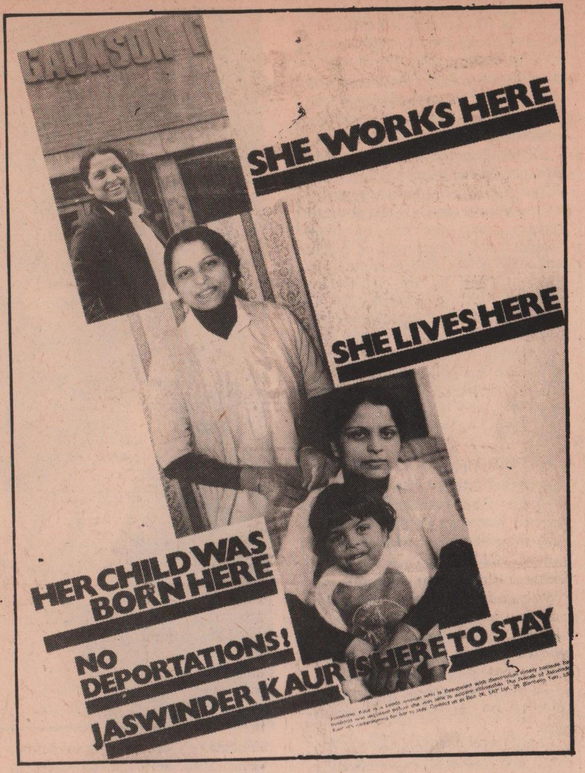
That means people ask for more shares than they're likely to get, thinking they won't get all they ask for. And then you decide that small shareholders get all the shares they ask for, while big investors get only a fraction. In this case, if you applied for up to 750 shares, you were given the lot, while those who wanted more than 7,500 were given less than a fifth. An unusually high proportion of the shares — 80% — were awarded to small investors.

Result? The small investors end up with more shares than they want — or can afford — and sell them off to the big financial institutions who want to hold on to them as part of their portfolio. That means the Stock Exchange price stays well above the offer price, which is a nice bonus for the small shareholders, no doubt loyal Tories; it also means there's busy trading in the shares.

And who makes the money? The company gets £100m less about one million in tax and costs, and the government £50m, out of which it pays £4m launch costs. Merchant bankers Kleinwort Benson make £2.6m commission for organising the whole jamboree, but have to pay off the other brokers involved in the deal.

And let's not forget that you send the money in with the share application when you ask for shares. The oversubscription meant that the government got a day's interest on £275m. It doesn't sound much, but adds up to something over £100,000.

Next in line for the big sell-off is Cable and Wireless (1980 profit: £59m.) which runs telecommunications systems in 31 countries. On Tuesday the government announced that is to sell 49% of C&W — a move which could raise about £150m for the Treasury. Kleinwort and Benson, who are organising the sale, must be looking forward to picking up another £2½m commission. The sale is expected to be in the autumn.



The Friends of Jaswinder Kaur have printed this poster as part of their campaign to stop the Home Secretary deporting Jaswinder. She married a man thinking he was a British citizen but he was deported for violence against her and her child. The poster costs 30p plus postage from Box JK 29, Blenheim Terrace, Leeds 2.

NI Media Meet

THERE were some nasty moments for the organizers of the first conference on media coverage of the war in Northern Ireland staged by the National Union of Journalists in Birmingham last weekend.

Over the last year there has been a growing determination among rank and file members that the union's loftily worded commitments to 'press freedom' should be translated into action against the biased and distorted reporting of the war. This eventually pushed the leadership in approaching other media unions to set up the conference jointly.

Under the pretext of not wanting to offend members in Northern Ireland, all the print unions refused to have anything to do with it. Only the broadcasting unions, ACTT and ABS, agreed to cooperate, but neither took part in the conference itself. ABS actually stopped a London branch sending a delegate known to support Troops Out, and instead allocated three senior officials to attend. Only one of them did, and he left early.

Likewise, NUJ members working in Northern Ireland took great offence at what they saw as the presumption of the union in questioning their work, and the Belfast branch refused to send even one delegate. The Northern Ireland journalists who did attend — and a few from the South as well — expressed this resentment in Birmingham.

At the same time, left members of the union, and, more importantly, the few delegates from other unions who turned up, kept pressing the need to challenge the distortion at its roots, by challenging the ownership and organization of the media. This pressure did result at the end in a general agreement to draw up a code of practice for all journalists covering Northern Ireland, in Britain and the North itself, but there was even some opposition to that.

Between these two elements were the official invited speakers: an Ulster Unionist, David Trimble; Austen Currie, from the SDLP; Roger Bolton, editor of BBC TV's Panorama; a Southern Irish journalist working in Northern Ireland, Allen Murray and Mary Holland, of the *New Statesman*. All were able to make good use of the great catch in the debate: that because there is no apparent official censorship in Britain on news from Northern Ireland, there is no 'censorship' at all.

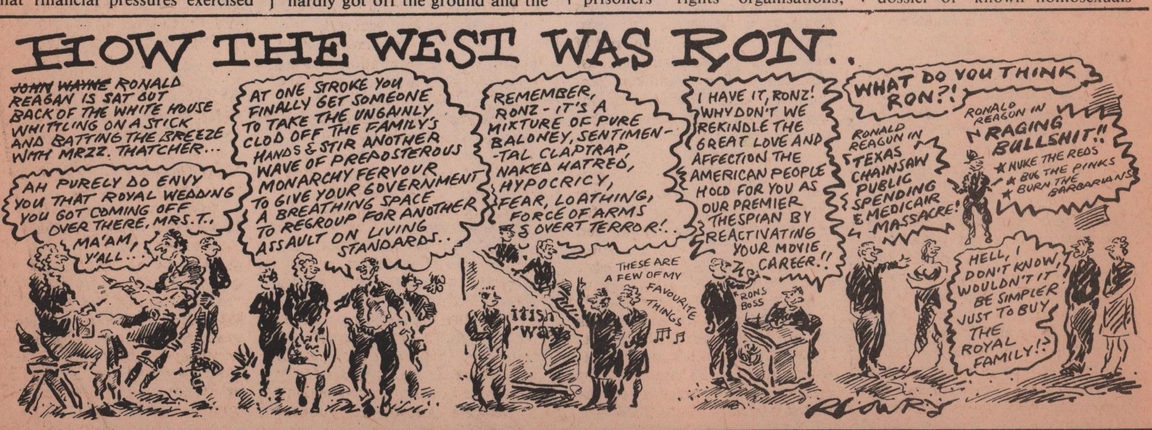
In the south, of course, there is official censorship — section 31 of the Broadcasting and Telecommunications Act, which outlaws all interviews with members of organisations banned by Britain in the North — and the Conference was given some absurd examples of how such representatives were kept off the screens. But it also heard most of the official speakers actually recognize a value in this official censorship, more or less on the grounds that "you know where you are with section 31, whereas you don't with the British authorities".

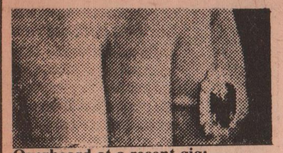
At least more journalists are now recognising that the problem is self censorship within the media themselves.

* * *

ALBERT SPANSWICK of COHSE, the model of a right-wing, authoritarian union general secretary, has suffered a terrible humiliation at the hands of one of his regional officials.

Mike Somers, secretary of the health service union's Region 13 (south-west London) has been given a final warning by Spanswick over the affair of the DHSS "sackers' charter" (*Leveller* 47 and 49). But in a two-day hearing last week, Somers' appeal against the warning was successful; the union has even got to pay the legal costs he incurred — on top of a £135 room hire charge.





Overheard at a recent gig:—
'When I saw the cost of Lady Di's ring I puked on my Giro.'
The Managing Directors

ANL: Youth go on the offensive

'THERE'S THESE big groups of skinheads at matches, and they come up to you and say, 'If you want to be a proper skinhead you've got to join the British Movement.' Steve was in the BM for three years before he left because he realised that he'd been used. When he stood up at last Saturday's 'Youth Against The Nazis' conference, and told the three hundred people there why he'd joined, and then left, the British Movement, it was an emotional moment — and he got a huge round of applause for his bravery.

The conference, organised by the Anti Nazi League and sponsored by a wide range of youth organisations, underlined the new philosophy of the ANL — that you can't fight the fascists without understanding why people join them in the first place.

As one speaker pointed out, working class school kids identify with the BM because it's a working class organisation which gives them a sense of identity. The ANL, in contrast, is seen by them as a middle class organisation — and one, at that, which only surfaces at election time.

The conference was called because of the growth of National Front and British Movement activity in schools and on the football terraces, and the rise of street violence and harassment of blacks and anti-racists. A three-page statement drafted by the sponsoring organisations and endorsed by the meeting outlined the problems and suggested responses to them.

Among these is a national day of action on March 21st against fascist activity on the football terraces. The ANL hopes that all football grounds with a reputation for a strong fascist support — such as Leeds, West Ham and Chelsea — will be leafletted.

Peter Hain commented at the start of the day the battle is now very different from the previous state of the ANL, when the street violence of the National Front was kept under wraps. Now, he said, we need an understanding of why racist groups flourish in a society whose institutions are basically racist. He left the conference early to re-build his front window — smashed by fascists the previous week.

And NUSS organiser Hardy Desai said that in his experience the ANL's success in schools depended on their active involement in general issues.

People came to the conference from all over the country, and they included school students, unemployed people, and quite a high proportion of Asian youths. Now the organisations which sponsored the conference — as diverse as the Indian Youth Association, the National Union of School Students, the Labour Party Young Socialists, and the Student Christian Movement — are to form a co-ordinating committee, to ensure, as ANL organiser Peter Alexander put it, 'that the work outlined in the statement is carried out'.



Alastair Indge

IN THE TRIAL of five skinheads reported in the last issue all the defendants were found guilty of riotous assembly. Vincent Heathfield was found guilty of making an affray though Kevin Wakeling was cleared of carrying an offensive weapon. They were all remanded on bail for social reports.

Four more skinheads are now being tried at the Old Bailey on a charge of causing an affray. They are all British Movement supporters or sympathisers. There is another trial coming up of 12 BM-connected skinheads allegedly involved in an incident at Woolwich station, following a BM meeting in a pub in the area.

Friends of the Earth is delighted with the report from the Select Committee on Energy which rejects Government plants for the expansion of nuclear energy. FOE welcome the Committee's recognition that past nuclear investment in Britain has had 'exceptionally low productivity', with great resources used for 'little direct return' and a 'serious net loss'. Meanwhile the Government might care to mull over the contents of the confidential Cabinet Minute from October 23, 1979, when it noted that 'Opposition to nuclear power might well provide a focus for protest groups over the next decade... the Government might make more rapid progress towards its objectives by a low profile agenda.'

We get read in the strangest places: Scotland Yard officers are currently recommending that anybody who wants to know the full inside story of how Operation Countryman was spiked should read our last issue. If any officer feels like telling us any more, the phone number is on the contents page....

Hackney MP Stanley Clinton Davis has succeeded in his efforts to secure a Parliamentary debate on the treatment of Matthew O'Hara in Pentonville Prison. In an adjournment debate scheduled for this Friday he will lay before the Commons medica evidence about prison neglect of O'Hara. He's unlikely to get answers to most of his questions though the information will become a matter of public record.

One of the few boom industries in Mrs Thatcher's Britain is private medicine. A recent *Financial Times* report estimated that 3.4 million people are now covered by private insurance shemes — a growth of 25 per cent in just one year — while NHS hospitals are closed and the queues lengthen outside GPs' surgeries. Alarmed at the escalating development of the private sector the Fightback campaign is planning a summer trade union conference and seeking sponsorship for a new pamphlet on cuts in the health service. Fightback argues for an expanded NHS, freely available to all and democratically controlled by those who use and work in it. Further details on the conference and the pamphlet from: 30, Camden Road, London NW1. 01-485 8610.

Scottish tenants are confidently predicting they'll have half a million signatures on their petition against rent rises by March 28, when the Scottish Tenants' Organisation proposes to hand them in to the Scottish Office. Cuts of up to £72 million ordered by Michael Heseltine mean that rents will rise by over 30 per cent in some cases. The rises have been met with unprecedented anger from tenants all over the country but the Scots are now threatening a total rent strike in retaliation.

Last week's decision by Islington Trades Council to support the forthcoming Smash the Prevention of Terrorism Act Campaign conference in Coventry brings the total of trades councils sponsoring it to six, despite TUC threats to expel any council supporting the conference. Mobilised around the slogan TUC Hands Off Ireland! the conference is a continuation of last year's attempt to get a Troops Out position onto the TUC agenda. The last effort resulted in the expulsion of Tameside Trades Council (*Leveller* 42); now Hackney, Salford, Todmorden and Wear Valley have lined up as well. Labour MP Ernie Roberts however has withdrawn his sponsorship and the student union at Lanchester Polytechnic have given way to pressure from the Labour-controlled local authority and refused the use of its hall. People who want to go are advised to turn up to the Poly on Saturday March 14 and they will be directed to the new venue.

WHY ALL the fuss about the Panorama programme on British Intelligence? Eventually there was just one cut — Gordon Winter, BOSS agent, former freelance journalist, in a pre-title sequence: 'British intelligence has a saying that if there is a left-wing movement in Britain bigger than a football team our man is the captain or the vice captain, and if not he is the referee and he can send any man off the field and call our man on at any time he likes.' Dangerous stuff, eh?

Letters

The Leveller, 57 Caledonian Road, London N1

PRISON BEATING

I READ with great interest your article about Mr O'Hara who was maltreated in Pentonville Prison, and subsequently tragically died.

I was imprisoned in Pentonville in January 1976 for 'contempt of Court' and immediately upon my arrival at the prison I was beaten up by four warders.

I was 43 years old at the time and was fairly fit as I was a fairly keen cyclist. Half an hour after my arrival at the prison I was a physical wreck scarcely able to walk to the Prison Hospital.

In the Hospital wing I was not free from assault, I had a mug of hot tea thrown over me, and my request for water to replace my tea was refused.

You can imagine that upon my release I was pretty well disaffected by 'the State'.

I complained to my MP but although his enquiries were pursued with considerable vigour, the Home Office 'Whitewashed' the whole affair.

J. Simmons
Middlesex

* * *

WHY HASN'T anyone else in the left noticed the way the Tories are selling off British Aerospace at cheap prices? No other left paper has taken up this issue yet every day we're faced with attacks on the nationalised industries in the Tory press. Here's one that's making money, whose prospects are bright and future secure, and they're selling it off when it should bel ong to us. Will we never learn to defend what we've already gained?

Martin Evans
Epping, Essex

JENKINS REPLIES

IN THE Leveller No 49 you say that I resigned my post as an officer with COHSE after being 'ordered to prepare legal action' against a former employee, Chris Perry, and imply that this is the reason for my resignation. Your account is untrue. I was never asked, still less 'ordered', to prepare any kind of legal action against Mr Perry. It follows that I am not resigning from COHSE for this reason.

I also wish to point out that neither my parentage nor the Council for Social Democracy had any relevance whatsoever to the subject of your article. In the same breath you appear both to speak in support of the motives you attribute to me (albeit incorrectly) and to go out of your way to embarrass me. Is the Leveller trying to compete with Nigel Dempster?

Perhaps it is time you reflected on the standard and style of your journalism.

Cynthia Jenkins
COHSE, Surrey

SUPPORT THE STAR

IN YOUR article on the Alternative Press you mention the need for a national left daily paper. Yet there is no mention of the one which already exists - The Morning Star.

After 50 years of supporting the struggles of the working class the MS is now facing its worse ever financial crisis.

It has survived everything from boycotts to bombings.

Contrary to popular belief the MS is not the organ of the CP but is owned by a people's co-operative.

It is essential that we are not left without a daily voice - The Morning Star needs all the help it can get.

Roger Lewis
Bolton

WRONG ON SAS ?

WHY DO YOU give space to plugging plays about the Special Air Service in your columns? You used to expose their murkier activities but now you've turned them into another commodity. I expect more from you than that.

Wendy Barker
Airdrie

I am writing on behalf of the John MacLean Society, with the support of Glasgow District Trades Council, in connection with the documentary programme 'The Revolutionaries' produced by BBC TV Scotland. It was transmitted on the network on 16th July last year to mark the birth centenary of John MacLean (one year late). During the course of the programme Lord Shinwell stated that John MacLean 'had been for some time in an institution because his mind was disturbed'. These are his exact words. This is quite untrue, and can be *proved* to be untrue. His family, hurt and bewildered, maintain categorically that it is a falsehood, and nobody else has ever suggested such a thing. I myself, as John MacLean's Biographer, am aware of all his activities week by week right up to the end of his life on 30th November 1923, and can state quite definitely that he was never in an ordinary hospital, let alone a mental one.

I was instructed to inform the BBC about the above error, and ask to have something done about correcting it. I wrote to the producer of the programme, and received no reply. I then wrote to the Head of Scottish Television and to the controller of BBC Scotland. Both replied that they could do nothing about Lord Shinwell's 'view of events'. I replied pointing out that it was not a 'view of events' but an unqualified statement purporting to be a fact, and was accepted as such by the viewers. On receiving more or less the same replies as previously, I wrote to George Howard in London, BBC Chairman, and received the same kind of reply.

The members of both the John MacLean Society and Glasgow District Trades Council are deeply troubled by the BBC's apparent lack of integrity and are horrified that in a so-called democracy a dead man can be slandered with impunity.

Nan Milton,
Secretary,
John MacLean Society

OFF THE FENCE PURDY

DAVID PURDY's article in your Jubilee issue was a fine exposition of what has been happening in the British economy over the past few years. But what a cop-out for him to take us right to the end, sideswipe the Alternative Economic Strategy for 'relying on state collectivism', and then say 'this is easier to state than to resolve' before ending with a call for the left to resolve this contradiction (or 'conundrum' as he would have it).

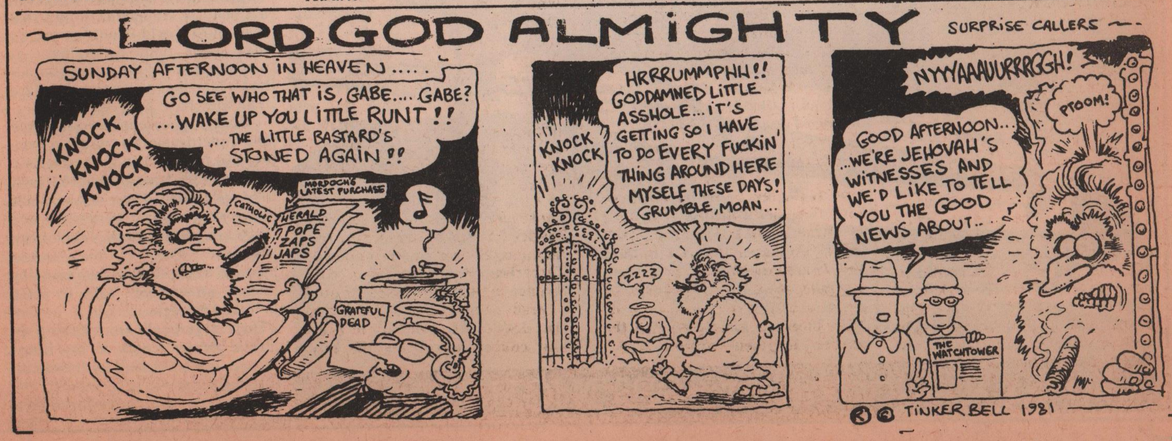
Is Purdy for a socialist revolution? Does he believe in strengthening the workers' co-operatives? Is he for the Chrysler workers occupying their factory as a first step for a working class takeover of industry and the state? Where does he stand on the present move of the left into the Labour Party? If he is a revolutionary socialist then he should get off the fence. If he isn't, then he too has to deal with the problems of state collectivism — and do it in *The Leveller* soon.

Susan Saunders
Mike Bateman
Birmingham

HEADBANGERS OKAY

CONGRATULATIONS on your Jubilee Edition from someone who never thought you'd make it past Number 4. Just one small point why doesn't Marek Kohn see the Great Long Raincoat Army hard rock headbangers as a force for progress? They're against the bomb and they're prepared to march for their belief. Surely that puts them on the right side, doesn't it? As socialists we should be trying to influence them in their beliefs, not attacking them for the music they like. Best wishes with the Fortnightly.

Jimmy the Rocker
Taunton



Space shuttle on shaky ground

IN APRIL the American space shuttle should make its first journey into space, after a development programme dating back to the 1940s and the spending of billions of dollars. It's a high technology development whose importance could come to rival that of nuclear weapons, computers, high technology agriculture and medicine. How well it will work is unpredictable. What is certain is that it will be generally ignored by the left and its publications.

This has happened before. Other high technology subjects, like microcomputers and nuclear power, have only been taken seriously by the left years after people in the field realised their political and social effects. The effects of space developments may take decades not years to become important. But this means there is scope, if the necessary political struggle takes place first, for space developments to benefit people instead of multinational corporations and state superpowers.

The first Earth satellite was launched in 1957, a few years after the first commercial nuclear reactor started work. There is well over 20 years of experience in space operations among the superpowers, covering many thousands of space missions.

The importance of the space shuttle is that it promises to do for space roughly what Henry Ford did for motor cars — make space activities more common, cheaper, and less chancy. But will it work? The shuttle is a piece of technology which it is easy to distrust. Large and complex, it has thousands of components to go wrong. It consists of three parts. The first is a shuttle orbiter, which looks, and is, very like an aeroplane. It has a forward cockpit where the crew sit when it takes off, and a spacious cargo bay, which can be filled with laboratories, laser weapons, satellites or anything else up to a total weight of some three tonnes. Designed to be launched into space and to return. A fleet of four or five shuttles will provide a regular, cheap service in which almost everything is re-usable, instead of the one-shot rockets, mainly derived from military missile launchers, used so far for launching satellites.

This seems simple enough, but in any shuttle mission there is plenty to go wrong: in particular, the re-entry of the orbiter and its touchdown on a landing strip in either Florida or California. The orbiter's entry through the Earth's atmosphere will involve it in resisting massive friction heating. The device developed to counter the heating has to work not for one re-entry but for scores. The technology dreamed up for the job — heat resistant ceramic tiles — is already a problem. Sticking on thousands of tiles — and making sure they are stuck — has meant a delay of years. An elaborate system involving a space TV camera — backed up by a spacewalking astronaut with a tube of high technology glue — is now being developed. Mistakes could be fatal and the rigmarole of checking out the tiles will slow down the smooth schedule which the shuttle is supposed to provide.

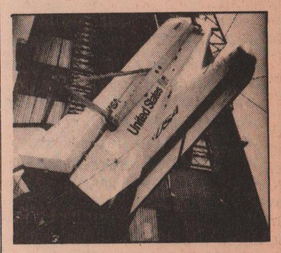
If it works, what will the shuttle do? The American military wants to orbit large space platforms to carry out espionage, especially detection of missile launches, and communications, which may include building large antennae in space to allow many thousands of communications channels to be provided for soldiers with small hand receivers, potentially giving US forces a massive tactical advantage in future battles. Submarine detection is another military task which might be best carried out from space. The shuttle could critically upset the US/Soviet strategic balance by making it possible for Soviet missile-carrying submarines to be detected.

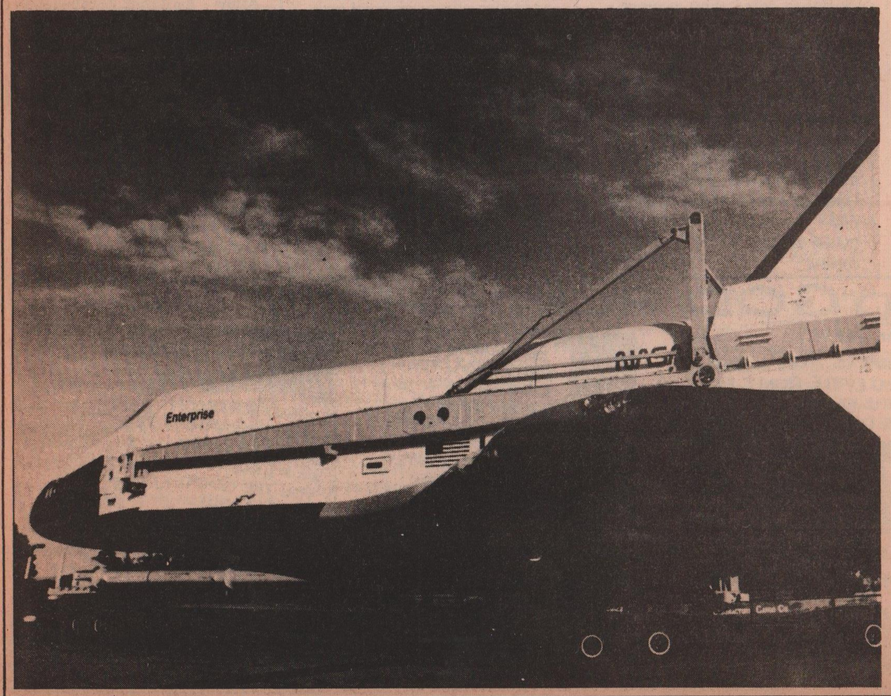
The Soviet military is a key mover behind a Soviet look-alike for the shuttle called Raketoplan, apparently still behind the shuttle in development.

The question for socialists is whether this means that the superpowers have space sewn up. The answer is tht they do not. For instance India, China, Europe and Japan all have their own rocket launchers and their own satellite programmes and countries like Indonesia use foreign-built satellites for their own purposes. A space programme might seem an odd priority for India, but the Indians think that it can provide them with two essentials for development — remote sensing to provide information about their large, sparsely developed country, and a communications system cheaper and better than land links could provide. The satellites they have devised, combining communications and remote sensing in the same vehicle, are innovative and are well suited to the work they have to do and to India's technological base: in effect, intermediate technology in orbit.

In the same way, the European and Japanese space agencies have developed launchers and satellites for tasks like weather forecasting and communications, including direct broadcasting of TV and radio which will start happening in this decade.

But where exactly is the politics in all this? First, the development of rival launcher systems means that satellite launches are going to get cheaper and more available. At the moment, the main beneficiaries seem likely to be the multinationals, which are setting up business communications systems based on satellites, and which plan to put a lot of capital into potentially very profitable space business. Do IBM and its kin have to be the winners? No they don't, although they will be if no political struggle takes place to defeat them. That struggle has to do several things. First, results from weather satellites are now mainly public property, as are photographs from remote sensing satellites. Both are potentially very useful for third world countries, which generally have very low levels of information about what is happening even within their own borders. The corporations are trying to get that information flow privatised, and must not be allowed to succeed.





Jerry Mason

Second, communications and broadcasting by satellite have to be democratically controlled, not handed over to the highest bidder. The example of the more successful national oil companies shows that even third world countries can do their own high technology. It would be good if the multinationals had it less their own way with space than they have with oil.

Lastly, people in the developed and underdeveloped countries have to push for space to be used as less of a military zone and more things that are needed. There will be much more scope for this with space launches getting cheaper and more frequent. Even if the shuttle doesn't work, there is an agenda in there somewhere for a vital political struggle.

(These arguments are taken up at much greater length in my book *Space*, just published by Sphere at £1.50.)

Martin Ince



Underground life of Soviet women

ON 10 DECEMBER 1979, an extraordinary document was circulated in Leningrad. Called the *Almanach For And About Women,* it was the first specifically feminist docment to come out of the underground movement in the Soviet Union. The *Almanach* was published on Human Rights Day in 'samizdat' form, the traditional way for underground publications to be circulated, with ten printed and handed out, and the same ten retyped and redistributed. The authorities, needless to say, took exception to the journal, which contained articles highly critical of the way Soviet society oppresses and degrades women. Two of the writers have been arrested and charged with anti-Soviet propaganda and four more are now exiles in the West. One of these is **Tatiana Mamonova** who is in Britain to talk about the feminist movement in her country.

In official Soviet ideology a woman's movement is redundant. Each woman is brought up to believe that her liberation has already been achieved. At the same time she must fulfil the impossible — building canals in Siberia *and* bringing up happy healthy children. In an oppressive society, hers is a double oppression, and no amount of propaganda can hide that from her any longer.

For a short time after the revolution, the needs of women were catered for in some measure. In 1920 a women's department (*zhenotdel*) was formed, with Alexandra Kollantai its first radical director. The *zhenotdel* tackled a whole range of women's issues, including abortion, childcare, prostitution. But in 1921, with unemployment rising under the New Economic Policy, women were the first to lose their jobs, and any attempts to protest were squashed and dismissed as 'bourgeois feminism'. The cult of motherhood under Stalin dealt the final death blow to the brief period of liberation enjoyed by Soviet women and their position has not significantly improved since.

These days there is just one official women's organisation, the 'Committee for Soviet Women'. It is an elitist organisation, and impossible to join — Tatiana has been trying unsuccessfully for fifteen years. The women involved are usually directors of plants and factories and always party members, and women who are so privileged and high up in Soviet society are unlikely to be strong feminists. Tatiana is just as scathing of the Party Congress. When asked if women's issues were discussed at Congress she smiled and shook her head: 'In my whole life — I have not heard of any occasion.'

It was to be expected, if Western propaganda is to be believed, that feminists would get little recognition from the Party and the Government. But there has been a powerful dissident movement and surely they could be expected to offer support? But their reaction is depressingly familiar. Civil rights must come first, they bleat, and women's rights will automatically follow from that. They dismissed the *almanach* as being 'too pretty to be taken seriously' (the women had illustrated it themselves) and the feminists were 'too emotional' for their dissident male taste.

The history of the *almanach* is closely linked with Tatiana's own and the roots of her feminism go right back to childhood. She talked with passion of her early years in a small Russian village, where she was surrounded by women's love. She was born in 1943 — 'I think I was born a feminist,' she says.

As she grew up she had heated discussions with her father, who appeared unjust in his disparate treatment of her and her brother. The boy was destined to study law, and he sat around as she washed up and cleaned. When she complained, she was told abrupty, 'You're the girl' and must expect such treatment.

In the 1960s the Soviet Union was enjoying a period of liberalisation; as a student Tatiana used this to the full, reading books and talking to foreigners, all the time improving her understanding of women's position.

In 1968 she was called in for questioning by the KGB. At this stage she still believed that women's liberation could be realized within the Soviet regime, and she talked freely to them about her idea of publishing a feminist almanac, something they were later to remember, to her cost.

By the 1970s she was involved in the dissident Democratic Movement. Sadly, she was received with less warmth than she had hoped, and when she was ridiculed simply for being a woman, it was the final push to her feminism. When she gave birth to a son, in 1975, her urge to communicate the experience with other women was so great that she suggested the idea of writing an *almanach* to women she knew.

It makes chilling reading. The writers record horrifying experiences in all areas of women's lives, from the specially female experiences of abortion and child birth, to the generally oppressive institutions of hospitals and prison camps.

Russian women are allowed little control over their own fertility. Contraception is limited and crude, with the pill available only on the black market, and at an astronomical price. Abortion is legal, and used extensively by Russian women. But the physical and psychological penalties are high, as all abortions are done without anaesthetic, and women are crowded together in the same room, and forced to watch the woman in front contort with pain as she is operated on.

If a woman decides to have a child, and survives the conditions of childbirth which are just as primitive as with abortion, then the state helps her as little as possible. A single mother gets five roubles a month to support herself and her child — enough money for exactly one day. And if she is married the outlook is not much better. To qualify for a creche, both parents have to be officially working.

It is in the area of male/female relationships that Tatiana sees one of the greatest threats. Every woman in the Soviet Union, herself included, is crippled by male violence. On her tavels around the country, speaking to women, she did not meet one was not afraid of men. Life is lived by the fist and the bottle. On television the portrayal of male violence is more subtle than over here, but it is just as pernicious. In films about the war and the revolution, men are depicted as fighters and heroes. They are also frequently violent towards women, but as *heroes* they are forgiven this behaviour — even lauded for it.

Despite the official statements, there is an extremely high incidence of rape in the Soviet Union. Only one per cent of these attacks are reported by women, usually at the insistence of their parents, and the law does not protect them at all if the rape occurs within marriage, for then it is regarded as 'fulfilling marital obligations'. Whatever the authorities would have us believe, male violence against women is tolerated, and even encouraged, both in official and domestic life. It pervades Soviet culture, its language and its customs. Some of the worst swear words cover the hateful concept of 'mother-fucking' and a well known proverb states jovially: 'A woman is an evil no house should be without.'

There has been much publicity given to the two different views of feminism held by the *almanach* writers, and this is not surprising, since the media, and society in general, take any opportunity to disrupt feminist solidarity. There are indeed different concepts of the feminist ideal, and one of these is strongly influenced by the Russian Orthodox Church. From this a group of women called the 'Klub Maria' has formed. Tatiana is reluctant to criticise the women who have come out in favour of a Christian-based feminism, since she believes in a pluralistic approach. She herself finds the attitude of the Klub Maria somewhat narrow, but would never condemn it as invalid. The views of all women are welcome in the almanach.

And then there is the final thorny question. Does Tatiana consider herself a socialist? It is difficult to ask an exiled Russian that without sounding threatening, but Tatiana was unperturbed. She certainly has strong socialist ideals, but first and foremost, she says 'My policy is feminism'. Men have already tried to build socialism, says Tatiana and have failed. Now it is women's turn, and they must take the lead.

Whatever you think of the almanach and its writers, it is impossible to deny their extreme courage. The two women arrested each face severe hardship. Natalya Maltseva was arrested in December and faces charges which carry a maximum penalty of seven years in jail and five years in a labour camp. Natalya Lazareva has been sentenced to ten months in a corrective labour camp. Tatiana herself has been constantly harassed by the KGB and was told her husband would be sent on front line army duty in Afghanistan if she did not leave the country. Now she is based in Paris, and is working on further editions of the almanach. When I first met her she was wearing a badge with a woman's head on it, carrying the slogan 'Failure is impossible'. Looking at her, and listening to her words, I really do believe that.

Barney Bardsley

"Woman and Russia", an English translation of the almanach, is available from Sheba Feminist Publishers, 488 Kingsland Rd, London E8 4AE.

Tariana appreciates any help from western feminists in publicising the work of the almanach writers, and organising for their defence.

Sheba

Brothers and Sisters

Brothers and Sisters, the first independent film funded by the British Film Institute to be distributed by a major commercial circuit opens this week. Described as an 'ideological thriller' and loosely based on the ripper murders, the film touches on difficult areas of sexual hypocrisy on the left. The classical 'whodunnit' murder mystery is used to examine the thesis that all men are potential rapists; not only the authoritarian army major but also his 'aware' leftist social worker brother. *Paul Holt* reviews Brothers and Sisters, and *Jane Root* went to ask the director Richard Wooley some of the awkward questions the film raises.



ICA

Why this kind of subject?

I knew that I wanted to make a film about the problems of behaviour in the left wing milieu that I am involved in, but there was a very specific moment three years back when the idea really came about. One of the early ripper murders happened about 200 yards from a party I was at. It had been one of those parties full of aggression and argument, about people having slept with other people and not mentioned it, that kind of thing. The next day I discovered that the murder had happened and walking around the streets with a man friend I realised that as far as women were concerned either of us could have done the murder. The two strands became fused together.

At the same time though, I was also very interested in questions about the power that comes from an articulate middle class background, partly because of my own childhood. An ability to control things if often common to all the children of such families, and especially boys, whatever kind of politics they have. It is a very difficult topic, but it has become important to start criticising that behaviour in me and people like me.

Lots of women will probably say that men should leave subjects of sexual politics and feminism to women.

I agree on one level, but my main answer is that certain topics shouldn't become 'women's issues' left to women to deal with, while men are the only ones to look at the 'hard politics' like strikes. I think it is important that men face the contradictions of their personal lives and deal with them if they can. Since the film has started to get public showings I have had several conversations where men have said things like 'Christ, we've done all that stuff about men sleeping with women, that's over.' This is partly why I felt the film had to be made. I know that for myself the women's movement started to affect me in 1974-5 and that by about 1976 I was starting to think I've got it solved, I've just got to be nicer, and that's it. A lot of men are still behaving the same as they were, but with added veneer of a certain way of saying things.

Isn't there still a valid criticism that there aren't many women in the film, that they are sketched in.

I concentrated on the situation of the two men — on what I know best (although I admit that this does lead to a further difficulty since it is always men that are shown at the cinema) I think that criticism would have been very valid if I *had* made it about women. Although I had help in writing the women's parts I decided not to put them up front because it wouldn't have been genuine. Another long scene with the women talking to each other was written but never used because it would have looked as though it was tacked on just to answer that kind of criticism.

Some women have told me that they are worried about men making films like this because they see it as jumping on a profitable bandwagon.

Thematically I've been dealing with sexual politics in my last three films — I certainly didn't do it here to get a BFI grant. My entry into politics wasn't through the traditional left politics at all but by way of the debates going on in Berlin with Marx and Freud being brought into sexual politics. To me it seemed the only theme of really driving importance.

I was disturbed by the way the film uses traditional thriller structures — with the viewer knowing what is going to happen to a woman who is a continual victim — all the things that you find in films like The Shining and Dressed to Kill.

That is a difficult point. I had hoped that by spending so much time which is normally spent on thriller on background attitudes that I could put the murder into perspective. There is only about twenty minutes of thriller out of an hour and a half.

I wanted to try and draw attention to the way thrillers are constructed. The film is almost Hammer horror — a pastiche of how commercial cinema works, producing a particular stylised form of tension built up by wind howling and cats miaowing. The real problem is that if I hadn't stuck to a standard thriller format then my ideas of showing up its exploitative nature would have gone.

I actually became quite scared watching

I felt I had to show that atmosphere — both of the horror film and the real fear that women feel walking around. But I admit that it is a fine hairline between showing up exploitative flim and without yourself exploiting it. It was very important to me though to not show any violence and not to make the film commercially successful through its violent or sex scenes.

However much the film works for what you have called a 'trained audience' (and I think it works very well) I'd like to know how you feel about people going to see it just like any other thriller.

At the Berlin festival last week a lot of people went on those grounds, but the thing is that they stayed to watch it throughout. That means that they had to watch all the other bits and perhaps start thinking about the problems that they set up. And the end means that lots of people will think back over what they've seen, and perhaps think about the other parts of the film too.

Isn't this a bit manipulative, using a thriller to hook people in? And doesn't this give the director a great deal of power — just what many radical film makers try and avoid.

My earlier films were very austere, and I knew that I couldn't repeat that this time. It goes back to the old arguments between agitprop film makers and the experimental avante-garde, of who I was a part. We said that there must be no content to films, make people conscious of sitting in the seat, make them aware of manipulation, that kind of thing, and I suppose I still do believe in that in a way. But I got a lot of criticism for my last film Telling Tales, especially in the north. People said 'why can't you make ordinary films — what it was about was really interesting'. I wanted to make the content of Brothers and Sisters accesible to a wider audience, and if you are going to do that you have to recognise that there are a lot of constraints.

What about the accusation of biological determinism saying that men can't change.

I think that is wrong. There is a pivotal line in the film where David slips down off the sofa and says 'Maybe we can't change, maybe no-body can change.' Pete, the other man in the house says 'Don't you remember how you gave me a book on how people change.' You can says 'biological', but I'd say environmental. I say it's a sexual/class back background — a middle class male background that counts, although maleness cuts across class. These attitudes have been environmentally programmed into men and changing them is an incredibly long process. That's why I had to make the film.

Brothers and Sisters opens at the ICA and at Cinescenta, Panton Street, London on Thursday March 12th. Go and see it if you possibly can.

RICHARD WOOLEY's latest film has particular significance for socialists who have been affected by the feminist and sexual politics movement of the last decade. It is unique among feature films made by English men in that it is made from within that movement. Warts and all, it is a product of that movement; although there are some very obvious warts poking out of the beautiful photography, the sharp editing and the sophisticated control of the time sequence.

The film has a straightforward and politically essential theme, cleverly woven around a 'thriller' plot. It is about how two upper class men treat women; how they dominate, manipulate and deceive women, and how easily they can kill women.

David, living in his leftist communal household in the inner city of a northern town not a million miles from Chapeltown, Leeds, preaches a politics which not only revolutionises the material framework of society, but also our personal lives. Meantime he pursues a dubious relationship with Teresa, his brother's children's nanny, and alternately tells Tricia, who he lives with, that he is far too busy to stay up all night discussing their 'relationship' and when *he* wants to she must sit down and talk things over.

James is a major in the army, much given to strike breaking and killing republicans, temporarily 'slumming it' in his parents country mansion, ordering Teresa and his wife about and motoring round Chapeltown.

The 'thriller' plot, centres around the murder of a prostitute in Chapeltown. Richard Wooley takes enormous risks by entering the political minefield of men's sexual violence against women. He is careful to counterpoint sexual violence with the violence present in all parts of our lives. When David and Tricia row, physical violence is possible. The men in the communal house are gripped by the violent film on TV and we hear a couple rowing in a nearby house. Presumably a strange scene between punks and blacks is there to suggest racial and gang violence. The point is made extremely clear, and in case you miss it the advertising poster for the film shouts: 'One man killed her, but all men were guilty'. Richard takes the side of the feminists who made this point first of all — all men are capable of sexual violence and, ultimately, the murder of women — and his film is a convincing and necessary statement of this view.

Because Richard Wooley is making an effort to speak to a wider audience, his film cannot be judged in the same way as we judge the trendy new wave cinema produced by most leftist directors. Here the director was a little dishonest as he effortlessly fended the questions after a showing at Bradford Film Club. He said he was trying to make the left and liberal members of the audience look more closely at their sexual and political lives. On this criterion he is extremely successful. Many of David's worst remarks have fallen from my own lips. And his defense against the accurate charge that the women characters are one-dimensional held water: he decided to concentrate on men's characters, and the way men behave. He shows us, perceptively and remorselessly, at our worst.

But Richard Wooley was once a member of a revolutionary group, and still identifies himself with the far left. He wants to communicate with as large an audience as possible. What is this film saying to them? 'I don't think there is much difference between left and right wing men when it comes to sexual violence', he said, and the film rams this home quite unambiguously. It is a worm's eye view of the psychology and practice of the revolutionary male activist. David is a cross between the worst aspects of libertarian sexual politics — incessant moralising on the sexual revolution — and the worst aspects of the leninist machine — up at dawn selling the paper, down to local to fraternise with black people and lure them to meetings with the bait of a film.

The fact that such a hybrid does not exist will be lost on most people. Those unfamiliar with the left will hate his humourless agonising (as will many of us on the left!); leninists will find their antagonism to sexual politics confirmed; feminists and libertarians will find further ammunition against left groups; and a lot of people will be just plain bewildered. I hope some women will comment on the view that will be gained of socialist feminists.

There is a justification for painting a grim picture of revolutionary life. We do have a lot to be ashamed of, and this film may well help us criticise ourselves. But from my neck of the political woods (Big Flame) there is no justification for his conclusion that your politics make no difference when it comes to relating to women. Of course it is true that *all* left wing men do totally inexcusable things to women. The fact that their avowed politics usually suggests that they shouldn't do these things can add the insult of hypocrisy to the injury of sexual oppression — and this may make their actions seem worse than those of right wing men, who at least have no pretensions. But do we conclude from this hypocrisy that there is no difference between left and right wing men? When I denied that this was the conclusion at the discussion in Bradford, I was told that I was good material for the film. Such a jibe hurts, and it is in some ways simpler to indulge in the emotional self-flagellation than it is to go on trying — in the face of the disastrous evidence for men — to assert and practice a socialist, revolutionary sexual politics.

At a factual level, the argument (if not the practice) can be clearly stated. If you say that there is no difference between left and right wing men, you have to either go on to say that men's behaviour is determined by their gender: because of their genetics, they have to dominate and exploit women, whatever ideas they hold. Alternatively, you could say that the whole sex-pol ideology being tentatively developed on the left since Kollontai is useless: that men go on with their disastrous behaviour because all the ideas coming from the sexual politics movement are wrong.

One of the problems with Richard's film — the basic political problem in my view — is that he comes down very strongly in favour of the genetic determination model. It doesn't give any hint of an investigation of the possibility that socialist sex-pol ideas are at fault. In the discussion after the film, Richard said that the film suggests social, not sexual, determination of behaviour; but it doesn't. The 'possibly nice guy' Pete is a working class lorry driver from London (with half formed political ideas) living in a Leeds communal household. Apart from being thinly drawn, he is an implausible character, and cannot suggest that working class men are necessarily 'better' than upper class men in relating to women.

Ultimately, Richard's film is a mirror of the strengths and weaknesses of the libertarian milieu. It's greatest strength is its serious and powerful effort to deal openly with sexual politics, and to relate this to a wide audience. Its weakness is its final political helplessness. There is no I am not sure what a 'socialist' film is or should be. It doesn't have to end with characters marching off into a new red dawn, but the dominant idea of this film — that there is no political solution to the sexual oppression of women by men — is certainly not the best way to close a socialist film.

Job creation programme:

Enough to make you WEEP

WHAT HAPPENS to wage levels in the 'free market economy' when 440,000 teenagers are paid £23.50 a week? It becomes the going rate: 'The government is setting a minimum wage for 17 and 18 year olds, and trying to force employers down to it.' — Colin Barnett, Chairman Manpower Services Commission, Lancashire and Manchester, and Regional Secretary of the TUC.

IF you're in work, government provision for the unemployed might not be a daily concern. You might have a vague idea about the choices open to school leavers, but for an instant education drop into the local Job Centre and have a look at the vacancies for the under 20s.

There aren't many, but there *are* plenty of training opportunities on Manpower Services Commission schemes, mainly YOP (Youth Opportunity Programme) and the aptly-named WEEP (Work Experience on Employers' Premises).

The YOP and WEEP schemes are at a critical stage. Employment Secretary Jim Prior announced 'a new deal for the young unemployed' on November 1st 1980, which he hoped would 'kill the view that this government doesn't care about unemployment'. YOP and WEEP will be expanded to 440,000 places, a further 180,000, at a total annual cost of £570 million. The aim is to provide a training for *all* the young unemployed before the Christmas of the year they leave school. These measures were welcomed by the Labour opposition and TUC.

I've been working for one of the better YOP schemes employing 75 sixteen- to nineteen-year-olds. 48 are working in outside community jobs, such as council day nurseries, offices, community centres. The rest are in work teams of six, doing odd jobs for the elderly, like decorating and wiring; one team is making simple furniture.

Theoretically there are numerous training opportunities; in practice this comes down to basic typing and child care courses at a local Sixth Form College, half a day a week. There is also a compulsory 'Life and Social Skills' course, one day a fortnight. MSC provides the curriculum, which emphasises work socialisation; e.g. taking orders, getting to work on time.

Six months ago when I rang potential employers to interest them in taking trainees, ignorance of what YOP even was tended to be the reaction. There is now a much wider knowledge; 'Isn't that the scheme where kids get paid £23.50 a week? Don't you think that's exploitation?'. Even employers say this.

The Job Creation Programme was introduced by Labour as part of the Social Contrick with the Unions. High unemployment levels were then viewed as a temporary aberration; it was argued that many young people were unable to get jobs for lack of experience and skills. Training on MSC schemes would provide these.

Since then unemployment has become an integral part of government economic policy. YOP and WEEP were launched in 1978; in their early days a trainee had an 80% chance of getting full time work following the training year. This has dropped to 40%, and continues to fall. So the majority will be rewarded for their year's community service with a return to the dole, although under Prior's 'new deal' they can always do another YOP year somewhere else! Last year one in five unemployed school leavers opted for YOP. This year it'll be one in two.

While most public attention has been devoted to YOP training, it is WEEP which causes most concern to trade unionists. WEEPs outnumber YOPs by about two to one.

Research has been critical. For example *Labour Research* (December 1980):

> All work experience programmes are supposed to involve induction, day release and counselling but, according to a survey in summer 1979, only 13% of WEEP trainees were receiving off-the-job training. Evidence suggests that 35% of employers regard WEEP entrants as an 'extra pair of hands' and there is also reason to suspect that these schemes are affecting the availability of apprenticeships, numbers of which have fallen to half the 1968 provision.

Labour Research accuses 30% of employers of using their WEEP placements as probationary periods to screen potential employees, and estimates a 20% job substitution rate (that is, replacing redundant workers). This is a cautious estimate. I have spoken to trade unionists in several parts of the country, and all agree that YOP/WEEP jobs are replacing paid jobs.

The effect on the job market is obvious. Rather than creating work, the schemes are replacing existing work, enabling employers to lay off workers, assured of free labour to replace the production gaps.

The statutory requirement for the work done by a YOP trainee is that it be done in the non-profit community sphere. The result has been a bonanza of free help to community groups. The catch comes when your local playgroup asks for an increased grant to meet costs. The local councillors are likely to say no, on the grounds that YOP teenagers can do the work instead of a nursery assistant.

Against the background of public sector spending cuts, Tory union bashing, a labour shakeout, and a centralising of political and economic power in Thatcher's cabinet, away from elected local councils, through a transference of local revenue from the Town Hall coffers to Heseltine's pocket, YOP/WEEP are less of a cosmetic measure to disguise an abysmal employment record than an essential part of the government's economic and political strategy.

Gaps in public services caused by staff reductions can be camouflaged by YOP. Untrained teenagers, employed by central government, are replacing qualified council employees. This is a radical shift of power away from elected local government.

The Tories sell YOP as an example of their concern for mass youth unemployment. It's not. It is an integral part of their policy to cripple publicly-owned services and substitute voluntary labour for public employment (see *Leveller* 41).

The equation is simple: many public service jobs can be done by teenagers on £23.50 a week, maintaining a service which the cuts have chopped. In other words school and hospital ancillary workers, council building workers, artisans and park-keepers, nursery workers, play workers, community artists can be made redundant, and YOP trainees taken on instead.

It's ironic that these groups who have co-operated so willingly by training YOPs, will be the first to lose their jobs to them. YOP/WEEP slashes wage bills, and transfers power to the central government quango MSC, directly accountable, and subject to Treasury and the Tory Cabinet.

THE FACT that YOP and WEEP cost jobs has not been lost on all trade unionists, particularly in the public sector unions. One of the conditions to set up a scheme is local trade union agreement.

In January, South Wales NUPE blacked YOP, refusing further co-operation with MSC. Denis Gregory of NUPE, Wales explained that the supposed monitoring of existing YOP/WEEP places was failing to take place, and that job substitution in the public services was common: 'jobs out of one door, kids through t'other.' Following discussions with national NUPE, the blacking was officially lifted, but only on the understanding that Mid Glamorgan councils didn't employ any more YOPs or WEEPs. So in practice the blacking still applies. Keith Morgan of Welsh NUPE: 'We have every sympathy for unemployed school-leavers, but they are being used as free labour. They are filling jobs, which could have been filled by redundant workers.'

In London YOP supervisors are being encouraged to join ACTTS (the white collar section of the TGWU), and have formed their own central London section. Previously, not sure quite what they were dealing with, trade unions tended to pass new schemes without due consideration. Now suggested schemes can be referred to unionised YOP supervisors for their comments.

Recently my work comrades reviewed a projected scheme to be set up in an Islington school. Trainees would have been doing light building and decorating work, and providing technical assistance in the classroom. We judged that this could cost four full time school keepers jobs. Hopefully local trade unions will block it.

WHAT DO THE YOPs THINK?

BARBARA: It's ridiculous to think we're gonna work all those hours for that money. Why should under 20s earn less than anybody else? Imagine a person in their mid-30s working for £23.50. They wouldn't do it.

JOYCE: 2 years ago when I worked part-time in a factory, I earned £23. I don't see why we should work full time for £23.50.

The money's nothing. You can't live on the money. It isn't enough for me anyway. My parents don't charge me rent, 'cos they say it isn't enough. I just buy a little shopping and that. By Monday I have £3 to £5 left. Weekends I have to stay in most of the time. My friends have to pay my fares and entrance to things.

DENNIS: The reason firms take you is 'cos it's doing them a favour. If someone was gonna come and work for me for free, I'd take them. The point is you're getting at least £20 less than the other workers.

KARL: I defy you to find anyone who has been trained by YOP. We're just cheap labour. People do a job, that's all.

DENNIS: What am I supposed to do when I'm 20, sweep roads? I'll probably rot.

CONDITIONS OF WORK FOR YOPs

£19.50 plus £4 travel expenses a week

Pay docked for non-attendance and lateness (they are paid an allowance not a wage)

12 days' holiday a year

After 3 weeks' sick leave a trainee is sacked

The north east of England is one of the areas hit hardest by unemployment. NUPE are making efforts to unionise the local YOP/WEEP workforce, and provide educational programmes. The Sunderland Trainee Council had hoped to send up to half the local YOP/WEEP workforce to the TUC Unemployment Rally in Hyde Park on March 9, but it would have cost £5,000 to hire a train, so the idea was dropped. Keith Young of the STC outlined their demands: 'abolish the training allowance, to be replaced by a decent liveable salary . . . YOP workers should be encouraged to become unionised.'

In Manchester the Campaign for Training Allowance (started in December following Prior's freezing of the YOP/WEEP wage), are organising a national trainees' conference to be held on April 18 (venue to be announced). It aims are

— to pressurise government into raising allowances;
— to call together all trainees on YOP, and particularly WEEP who are the most isolated and exploited group;
— to set up regional and national trainee organisations; and
— to fight for apprenticeships and unionisation.

Trainees in London have formed the Youth Oppression Board.

Part of Prior's 'new deal' is that trainee allowances are to remain at the 1979 rate. This act of meanness may prove the government's undoing, as it has become a rallying point for YOPs and WEEPs up and down the country.

Patient acceptance of the Job Creation Rip-Off is giving way to an angrier resistance mood.

To date, the TUC has supported the expansion of YOP/WEEP provision, despite the destruction of jobs. If it instructed members to cease co-operation with them, it could save tens of thousands thousands of jos and apprenticeships and even create new ónes — *really*.

ABUSES by MSC and employers they sponsor are difficult to demonstrate. There is little research. MSC are uncooperative. Their employees are frightened of being named and sacked, or of causing the closure of their scheme (budgets are decided annually, but payment to schemes is monthly). Council officers, while prepared to make strong general criticisms, refuse to name actual cases. But, here are some:

A TIN BOX manufacturer in Manchester, asked to give details of a proposed WEEP project replied: 'Our kind of work is ideal for retarded types of workers with not too high a level of IQ. A lot of the jobs are fairly monotonous, and an intelligent type of person is not suited to this type of work. We found that the kind of person you can send to us, after the six months training becomes a useful employee, who not only pays his wage, but contributes to the earnings of the company.' (From an MSC MSC internal document.) This is an approved MSC scheme.

MEMBERS of the Campaign for Trainee Allowance produced a petition, which they take to trainees' places of work. The bosses at a shoe factory in Wythenshaw, which employs 20 WEEPs told them they would be sacked if they signed it.

WHEN THE King Henry Pie Factory in Manchester was on strike, the manager (known locally as George Ward II) requested the use of WEEPs as strike breakers. It took a mass picket of the Employment Office to sink this proposal. MSC internal document: 'The manager, Hollins, was a forceful man, but full of good ideas.'

MANY WEEPs work in chain-stores. Sunderland managers have discovered that the way to get the most out of them is to tell them, 'if you work bloody hard for six months we'll give you a job'. At the end of six months they sack them, and get a new freebie from MSC.

A YOP trainee on a Milton Keynes' painting project was painting a toilet ceiling. He asked for a step ladder and was told to stand on the seat. It broke, and £15 was deducted from his wages. Milton Keynes Trade Council have taken up the case.

USEFUL ADDRESSES

Campaign for Training Allowance; telephone 061-236 0715
Youth Oppression Board; c/o Thornhill Project, Caledonian Road, London N1, telephone 01-278 9500
Sunderland Trainees Council; c/o Ford and Pennywell Advice Centre 468 Hylton Road, Ford Estate, Sunderland; telephone Sunderland

Terry O'Brien

Books

OUR MOTHERS' DAUGHTERS'
by Judith Arcana
Womens Press. £2.95
(published 5 March 1981)

OUR MOTHERS DAUGHTERS comes as a shock to all those who, like me, think they have a good relationship with their mothers. It makes one thing very clear: our mothers are not only victims of patriarchal society, they are also its agents. It is they who tell us to be wary of men, to be well-behaved and charming in company, to dress up, to be clean, to be obedient. Very rarely do they tell us what we really need to know, such as the actual details of our bodies' development, our sexuality, our potential marriages, and motherhood itself.

This, says Judith Arcana, is due to the 'forgetting process'. By the time women have become mothers they have been thoroughly conditioned by society. They have narrowed their minds to encompass the strictures of life in the nuclear family, and have forgotten that they used to have aspirations, bold ideas. In this atmosphere a girl child quickly learns what Audre Lord's poem says, and is quoted at the beginning of the chapter: '*I learned from you to define myself through your denials.*'

Not all the chapters are this good. Several are superficial and inconclusive, and the disjointed quotes from women are unsatisfying – I would have preferred to hear each woman's story in full. One other section which did impress me was the chapter on 'Touching: Affection and Violence' where she points out convincingly that boys find it much easier to fit into heterosexual relationships when they are older, having been touched by their mothers when young, whereas girls, used to female affection, have some difficulty adjusting to men.

The book is an interesting one and a valuable contribution to an analysis of one of the most fundamental relationships we experience as women. I still maintain that my mother and I have a good relationship, but now I realise just how much *better* and *closer* it could be, if it were not for the alienating effects of society.

Barney Bardsley

FACES IN THE WATER
by Janet Frame
The Women's Press Ltd. £2.75.

THE SO-CALLED mad and the so so-called sane: a description of confinement in a mental institution. A stream of consciousness, thoughts run wildly on between horror and loneliness. Only a quotation can show how powerful this writer is:

The prospect of the world terrified me, a morass of despair violence death with a thin layer of glass spread upon the surface where Love, a tiny crab with pincers and rainbow shell, walked delicately ever sideways but getting nowhere, while the sun . . . rose higher in the sky its tassels dropping with flame threatening every moment to melt the precious highway of glass. And the people: giant patchworks of colour with limbs missing and parts of their mind snipped off to fit them into the outline of the free pattern.

Jane Critchley



Books

Rough and ready

Two books, Absent from School: The Story of a Truancy Centre, and Beyond Control : Schools and Suspension, by Rob Grunsell have recently been published by Chamelion Books. *Alex Walsh* takes a look at the books and the issues they raise.

I AM pleased to be able to say that these books were not written by yet one more 'expert' who was going to describe those who reject conventional schooling and attempt to seduce me with psychological and sociological analysis into believing that these kids are 'different'.

Absent from School describes the first 3 years of a truancy centre started by the author and his wife. The majority of the book is description, participatory and personal, of people and events, kids and teachers. In style it seems to reflect what it must have been like to be part of 'The Centre', sometimes confusing, without the order one might expect. As the author puts it 'If this book is to mean anything it must be about particular people, whole people – not merely their symptoms, their crises, and their social disadvantages'.

Beyond Control is a study of suspension in one education authority, including eight case studies. The author looks at the schools' reactions to disruption and the often arbitrary decisions to suspend. He asks the questions – what is acceptable behaviour in school? Is there a cultural and social gap between teachers and pupils? How is 'control' administered?

Local Education Authorities are responsible for ensuring that all children receive adequate education (whatever that is) up to the age of 16. As a consequence they are very interested in people like Rob Grunsell who are prepared to set up units for truants and suspended pupils. Unfortunately this results in these groups being separated from the normal school situation and makes these kids' difficulties specific. to them. The schools part in creating these 'failures' can then conveniently be forgotten.

Rob Grunsell looks at truancy and disruption in the context of where it occurs, the school. Truants attend The Centre when they didn't attend school because it offers them something, mainly it seems the experience of belonging. The kids made The Centre, not the other way round. Of course schools will tell us that this minority have such great needs, due to their individual pathology, deprived backgrounds etc, that normal schools do not have the resources to meet them. It is undoubtedly true that kids needs, educational or otherwise, vary, but if schools are saying they cannot cater for everyone, the question that needs to be asked is who do they set themselves up to cater for? I think it's erroneous for anyone to imagine it is for the majority.

'As they see it working in school is only worthwhile for those at the top of the academic ladder for whom exam success could actually improve employment prospects. For the rest, the ones they call "rough and ready", learning is a manifest waste of time.'

Changes in the curriculum to include more non-academic subjects (which have little status within or outside school) does little to change the reaction of the "rough and ready" ones to school. For the majority being with your mates and having fun, 'messing about' are far greater motivating factors to attend school than the curriculum. If you are working class, thick or black all you have to do to 'succeed' at school is to work hard at being middle class, white or intelligent.

Schools can't solve all our social problems but they do have the potential to compensate and begin a change. Teachers themselves are a starting point. Unfortunately, the potential of teachers to 'bridge the gap' and offer an educational experience that is relevant and meaningful is stifled early on. Too many teachers rely upon their professional role to give them authority, power, even the ability to teach. We no longer expect employees to succumb to the authority of employers, regardless of how they present or use this power, so why should we expect it of pupils?

"They used to put me into the hall to work by myself until I was "fit" to go into class again! It's like being an animal, ain't it – till I was fit to go into class again."

These two books contain interesting material about what some kids think about school, education, growing up, authority, control and much more. I don't think these views are particular to these kids. These are important issues for all young people and adults; and are as an important a part of education as 'O' levels; and what's more 'O' levels are not a substitute.

All kids learn, inside and outside school, and education should be about exchanging experience and information. Not only do schools need to have a relevant curriculum but also to provide an environment that allows all kids to demonstrate that they have something to offer. "It's no bloody good you asking me questions. There ain't nothing in my head. That's your job, you're the teacher. You've got to take it out of your head and put it into mine". Unfortunately, not all teachers (or other adults and kids) would cringe at this statement, because a lot of them would believe it was true.



Visual Arts

The view from Oyster Bay

The painting above is an example of popular Tanzanian art, painted in bicycle lacquer on hardboard, from an exhibition which can currently be seen at the Commonwealth Institute in London. *Roger Andersen* traces the life story of Eduardo Tingatinga, the founder of this school of painting.

LATE AFTERNOON and the sun is still hot, beating down on the tin of the servants' houses. Apart, amongst the trees, wide verandahed bungalows sprawl quietly away towards the sea. This is Oyster Bay, Dar es Salaam, nearly twenty years after Independence but still recognisable to any returning white colonial official.

Just beyond the small row of shops, post office, and tatty supermarket lies a large expanse of wasteland. Here under a spreading mango tree you will find an amazing exhibition of paintings, placed in a circle on the ground propped up with sticks. Animals, birds, spirits, witch-doctors, village and city life are trapped in bright colours on two foot squares of hardboard. After a while if you looked interested someone is likely to move away from the trunk of the tree and approach you. They will point out their own paintings but will be just as happy to sell you any of the others. Here is the main gallery of the Tingatinga School of Painting and the briskest business is just before sundown when the whites, 'experts' and embassy officials, come out to do their shopping.

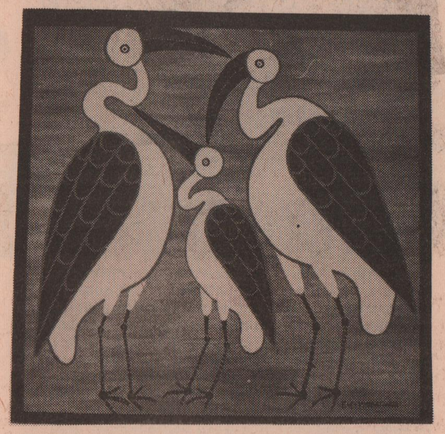
Eduardo Tingatinga himself came to Dar es Salaam, the capital of colonial Tanganyika, in 1955, from the Ruvuma region near the Mozambique border. He had been to a mission school for ten years but found it difficult to get work in his home area. He finally got a job as a gardner in Oyster Bay; he did the rounds there for thirteen years from one white family to another, doing almost any job he was offered. In 1968 he could not get any work at all and in despair turned to painting.

There was no tradition of painting although the Makonde people from the south were well known for their ebony carvings. In mission schools the only paintings he would have seen were cheap devotional posters – reproductions of paintings like Holman Hunt's 'Light of the World'. In the big towns he might have come across posters advertising Indian romantic films and Italian spaghetti Westerns. Luckily these styles had very little effect and he chose his own methods and subjects. He painted on squares of hardboard, 2ft by 2ft, using bicycle lacquer, which was easily available and reasonably cheap. He first painted a wash over the whole board usually blending one or two colours together and when this was dry he painted his figures on top.

The paint from one layer does not show through on to the next, so it was possible to build up sharp clean designs slowly. At first he dragged his paintings around the hotels in town but after he had sold a few he set up shop near the supermarket in Oyster Bay.

Later when he was offered a job as a hospital cleaner at the Muhimbili Hospital, he accepted because of the difficulties of selling his work regularly. His work cut down the time that he could spend on painting and selling so he was happy to accept the help of Mama Agatha, a Makonde woman, and a cousin of hers, Linda. They often painted the background and finished detail. Later they began to paint on their own and slowly a number of Tingatinga's relatives and friends from the south of Tanzania joined in to form what became virtually a school of painting. The subjects painted widened to include devils and witch-doctors, partly because of the traditions in Makonde sculpture and partly because this is what the expatriates wanted. Whenever one of the painters showed a picture he would tell a story about it – varying it from time to time depending on who was listening.

Given the interest raised by these paintings, the National Development Corporation, stepped in and made a contract with Tingatinga to sell his paintings at a fixed price in a smart shop in town but this led



to some problems. As they did not sign up the whole group most of the paintings continued to be sold out in the open in Oyster Bay. Again although the official prices were higher, the NDC took its percentage to cover the costs of its shop, so what Tingatinga received was not so much. However he did get enough money to quit his job at the hospital.

One painting pointed to a growing problem in Dar es Salaam – armed robberies. The picture showed a man holding a gun, marked 'gun' and a terrified bank clerk holding a bag of 'mani'. As the gangsters got heavier in Dar es Salaam so did the police. They had carried rifles from way back in colonial times and now they began to use them more regularly. Police set up road blocks and so did the gangsters often dressed as police. One night Tingatinga was in a taxi which drove through a road block and when the police opened fire 'to hit the tyres' he was shot in the back. He was dead on arrival at Muhimbili Hospital.



GAY WORKERS: TRADE UNIONS AND THE LAW by Chris Beer, Roland Jeffery and Terry Munyard. Introduction by Tony Benn, MP. National Council For Civil Liberties, £1.20 ppbk.

WITH THE 1980 Employment Act making job protection harder for all of us, 'Gay Workers: Trade Unions and the Law' paints a gloomy picture of Britain's two and a half million gay employees as the 'most vulnerable of all workers'. It sets out the facts of legalized discrimination against gays in the workplace. Gay workers are present in all spheres of employment, but often remain hidden as their acceptability varies in jobs. It looks at the 'mechanics of discrimination', with psychological problems, corruption of children and inadequacy of character amongst the grounds offered for dismissal by employers.

Most revealing is the disappointing repetitiveness with which Industrial Tribunals accept and propagate homophobic attitudes. Widely-held prejudice can be sufficient grounds for dismissal, and in the eyes of the law, employers can reasonably expect a homosexual worker to make advances to clients, customers and fellow-workers.

The book points out the need to carry on the fight despite the odds. It shows hope at the degree of involvement being shown by gays and some unions, and sees the real cure as a positive attempt to avoid prejudice occuring in the first place. More involvement is necessary on the part of both gay workers and their unions; discrimination against gays is divisive for the workforce as a whole, and must be seen as such and acted upon.

Andy Peggs

Albums

FIRE ENGINES: Lubricate Your Living Room (Accessory/ Pop Aural)

The Fire Engines insist that this 12" 33rpm record is not an LP. Well, okay, their debut 12" 'thing' is an organised shambles of guitar and drumming. And very enjoyable it is too. Guitarists Murray Slade and David Henderson create simple, repetitive tunes, and one the two vocal tracks, David Henderson's vocals sound like he's having a nervous breakdown.

If I was going to make comparisons, the Velvet Underground would immediately spring to mind. But the Fire Engines have learnt and not copied from their inspiration, unlike the present crop of Bowie clones. It's a sad state of affairs when Radio One claims to be a pop station and prefers to play bands with secondhand ideas rather than new bands with new sounds. Most people will never have heard of this group, let alone the records. Most people still think fire engines are red and squirt water.

Phil Brett

LINDSAY COOPER: Rags (Arc Records)

GENERATED FROM the score for the film Song Of The Shirt, Rags is a musical documentary of life and struggle in victorian England. Nineteenth century ballads about seamstresses, the 1851 exhibition and the Chartist movement are performed in their original settings or set to new music.

Central to both the music and the politics is the oppression of women; a series of instrumental pieces called Woman's Wrongs I–IV intersperse the other numbers. The lavish booklet explains the sequence of events they depict. This dependence on the accompanying verbal material is the album's biggest weakness. Not enough is musically self-explanatory; while the parlour piano song Stitch Goes The Needle is placed in its historical context by the grimmer music that's woven through it suggesting the realities of victorian home industry, Thomas Hood's sentimental philanthropic ballad Song Of The Shirt is only contextualised in the booklet – on the record, it could be taken at face value.

A lot of the music is atmospheric, touching and evocative, but Lindsay Cooper's highly intellectual approach seems to betray distrust and inhibitions about music itself. There's a moment on one track, Film Music, where she lets rip a gorgeous jazzy alto sax tune. I could have done with more of that – more passion, more music, more *risks*.

Chris Schüler

Singles

ESSENTIAL LOGIC: Music is a Better Noise (Rough Trade). Essential Logic scramble conventional bits and pieces to produce a good noise. The singing is relaxed and high-pitched, although I can't decide if the meaning of lines like 'Music is a better noise than rumbling catapults' is self-referential or self-evident. File under solipsism.

JAM TODAY: Stereotyping EP (Stroppy Cow). Music pushed into a more problematic space, music as (feminist) intervention, although Jam Today's cautious jazzy rock hardly connects with this space.

The women involved probably (and rightly) couldn't care less what I think since their declared aim is to reach women who rarely go to live concerts.

INTERNATIONAL PEN-PALS: The Story of the Day they ate Ronald Reagan (Radical Wallpaper). This half-witted affair will doubtless cause immense panic in the White House. More generally I wish people would abandon the image of Reagan as an educationally subnormal madman whose fingers permanently twitch on the nuclear button, and get on with something more sensible.

LILIPUT: Eisiger Wind (Rough Trade). Liliput are the remains of Kleenex, an all-women Swiss band who used to make a really wholesome racket and were great live. This song starts off with an impeccable Heavy Metal riff but, having gone to all the bother of writing a song, Liliput thankfully proceed to wreck everything in earshot with furious bass-playing and crazy singing.

PEOPLE IN CONTROL: When it's War (Cram). A messy and likeable muddle of slowed-down tribal drums, voices, noises and irritatingly catchy bursts of guitar.

VOGEL: Arschloch/Guten Morgen (Recommended). On the first side, against a horrible array of pomp-rock keyboards, deadpan Ivor Cutler recites an elegiac history of the human arsehole.

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Music

Serious music for laughing out loud to

BELA BARTOK is widely considered one of the most important European musicians of this century. Later this month there will be a series of concerts and an exhibition to commemorate the centenary of his birth. *Tim Gopsill* explains why he'll be going along.



'IT WAS the time of a new national movement in Hungary, which also took hold of art and music,' Bartok wrote in 1921. 'In music, too, the aim was to create something specifically Hungarian. When this movement reached me, it drew my attention to studying folk music, or, to be exact, what was considered Hungarian folk music at that time. . . . I discovered that what we had known as Hungarian folk songs till then were more or less trivial songs by popular composers and did not contain much that was valuable. I felt an urge to go deeper into this.'

So, together with his great comrade Zoltan Kodaly, he set out with an early phonograph to tour the whole of Hungary, and, later, much of Romania and Bulgaria. They recorded thousands of songs.

From the fusion of this work, and his musical training, Bartok helped develop one of the most positive forces in modern music. For in the second decade of this century, music was facing the same crisis as other arts and, indeed, as politics, throughout Europe. With the collapse of German/Austrian imperialism after the War, there were revolutions everywhere; Hungary had its own Republic of Councils, a socialist republic that lasted only 133 days. Bartok threw himself into organising a revolutionary Musical Directory, and was lucky, when the revolution was overthrown, not to be jailed (as its director, Bela Reinitz, was).

The turmoil in music, paralleling the crumbling of the pre-war political order, was the crumbling of the 25-year-old tonal system of composition. It was widely felt to have been worked out, and composers were looking for something new.

The result that most people would, until about 10 years ago, have said to be the most important was serialism, the arbitrary atonal system devised by Arnold Schoenberg which led so many musicians up a blind alley for so long. Others, like Stravinsky and Hindemith, turned to 'neo-classicism' – an entertaining but ultimately futile reversion to the beginnings of the classical system.

Bartok's path was different. He went back to the music of his people, of which the structure pre-dated the tonal system of 'civilised' western Europe, forging a musical language that revolutionised composition but was also comprehensible to the average listener. You can hear it for yourself. Bartok's music falls into that rare category of distinction that can be instantly identified. You can hear just a few bars and know it sounds like no-one else's. It is easy to listen to, even though its structure is often extremely complicated. You couldn't say any of this about that of Schoenberg, for instance.

For during the resurgence of nationalism that was Eastern Europe's response to the end of empires, music in the west was retreating, in the name of progress, into empty avant-gardism. Droves of European musicians, identified with the old ruling classes, crossed to America and got tied up in the commercial/academic scene: Stravinsky and Prokofiev fleeing the Russian revolution, Schoenberg and Hindemith from Germany. They abandoned their roots and any attempt to communicate with any but bourgeois 'learned' listeners.

It was a terrible irony that Bartok too ended up in the USA; not from choice, but fleeing the Nazis. There was a furious reaction to the heady nationalism of the early '20s in Hungary, as the dictatorship of Admiral Horthy led to virtual Nazi control. The western-looking musical establishment was fiercely critical of Bartok's work, and at times he couldn't even get performances. Critics called him 'barbarian'. One work, the extraordinary Freudian ballet 'The Miraculous Mandarin', was banned outright.

Bartok maintained a stand against Nazism, refusing to play in Germany or Italy after 1933, refusing even to take part in broadcasts that could be picked up there, and, after the Anschluss with Austria of 1936, refusing to fill in a questionnaire on his racial background sent to him by the Austrian performing rights association AKM, which the Nazis had taken over.

Finally he was driven out, to a life in American exile contrasting dramatically with the lionisation of the pointy-headed serialists and neo-classicists. He got a small grant for folk song research at Columbia University but it was soon stopped. It seems incredible that in the USA, where 'culture' has been funded and fetishised by the ruling class like nothing since Renaissance Italy, the composer of concertos, quartets, piano works that now pack concert halls and enrich recording companies – should have struggled in obscurity and died in poverty and neglect, but it's true.

Bartok's musical voice is appealing now because while basing it on the voice of his own people he made it universal. It is so full of vigour, passion, and, good grief, a quality that appalled the intellectuals – fun. There's not much 'serious' music that makes you laugh out loud, but passages of Bartok can.

There are three centenary concerts in London on March 25 and 26, and others planned for the Aldeburgh and Edinburgh Festivals later in the year. On March 26 in London there's also a talk by A L Lloyd on 'Bartok the Folklorist', which, while it won't have much politics, will include tapes of Bartok's original folksong recordings, taken in the field. There is an exhibition of documents and photographs at London's Royal Festival Hall which will be touring England and Scotland.

Theatre

Preconceptions under siege

On February 10th, *The Siege*, a new play by Roger Howard, opened in the studio of the Mercury Theatre in Colchester. The author calculates this to be his 76th work for the stage, an immensely prolific output of deeply political plays, that have gone largely unnoticed by the commercial theatre. *Paul Brightwell* went to talk to him.

HOWARD'S EARLY plays were generally short, allegorical and symbolist pieces (a selection of which have been published by John Calder under the title *Slaughter Night*), tightly constructed and imbued with high poetical dialogue.

'The language was always the most important element of my early short plays. I still use some of the old devices, but now I've abandoned abstraction in favour of a more concrete and recognisable reality . . . But the words are still the most important thing.'

The Siege is a straightforward story of the effects of the two-month long siege in Colchester in 1648 on a family and its servants; but the play has a complexity and richness of language that is typical of the author's work, whilst the whole is underpinned by a radical and sophisticated conception of political theatre. The project consists of the attempt to shift the writing of drama on to an entirely new ground.

An idea that had much currency in the radical thinking of the 1640s, that 'the Kingdom within', the inner life, and 'the Kingdom without', the public, social sphere, are radically 'out of joint', forms the main theme of the play. In the claustrophobic, pressure-cooker environment of a town under siege, underlying conflicts, between characters and within them, come to the surface.

Howard's dramatic method is dialectical, in that it rests on the exposure and movement of fundamental oppositions and contradictions, between the inner feelings of his characters and the reality of their environment, between the characters one-to-another according to their sympathies and class-positions, and within them as individuals. It refutes the idealistic premises of the old-style theatre, which affirmed the existence of a whole set of eternal truths, and denied the possibility of real change. It implies a quite different view of history, human behaviour, and thus the construction of character.

On seeing *The Siege*, it was apparent just how successful this method can be. The play is extraordinarily powerful, and without the ornate trappings of the traditional historical drama, generates a most vivid atmosphere, of a tiny but significant moment in the people's history unfolding before our eyes.



Encamped in Colchester, 1648: The Siege

Feeling the need to relate his insights into the theory of theatre to collaborative research and practical work, in 1979 Howard founded the Theatre Underground at Essex University, where he teaches drama. Based in the University's underground theatre-space, and largely drawing its personnel from the student body, the Theatre Underground has established a growing reputation for the quality of its work. Pursuing a policy of staging only new plays by British writers (future plans include the development of a theatre-writer's residency at the University), or plays from abroad which have not previously been seen here, its first production, in December 1979, was Howard's own *A Break in Berlin**. In March 1980 came the British premiere of a play from East

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Playlistings

ATC LONDON: Measure for Measure, by William Shakespeare, and Berlin/Berlin, a new play with music inspired by Robert Musil's The Man Without Qualities. LANCASTER: Fri 6-Sat 14 Mar (Berlin) — The Nuffield Studio. TELFORD: Mon 16 Mar (Workshop) — The Donnington Army Base; Tues 17 Mar (Berlin) — The Wrekin College Wellington; Wed 18 Mar (Berlin) — The Madeley Court Theatre. OSWESTRY: Thur 19 Mar (MM) — Oswestry School. LICHFIELD: Fri 20 Mar (MM) — The Arts Centre. **BELT & BRACES: Coming Up by Kate Phelps — reviewed issue 48.** ABERYSTWYTH: Mon 9-Wed 11 Mar — University College. SWANSEA: Fri 13 Mar — University College. **COMMON STOCK: Deep City, a thriller set in contemporary London concerned with lost opportunities.** LONDON: Fri 6-Sun 15 Mar. COVENTRY: Tues 17 Mar — Hereward College of Further Education for the Physically Handicapped, Bramston Crescent, Tile Hill Lane. STOKE-ON-TRENT: Tues 17 Mar (8.30) — Bucknall Working Men's Club, Marychurch Road. BIRMINGHAM: Wed 18 Mar — Irish Community Centre, High St. Deritend. COVENTRY: Thurs 19 Mar — Stoke Park Community College, Cane Road. **CUNNING STUNTS: The Opera. A voyage into the unknown, the unexpected and the uncharted. . . .** NOTTINGHAM: Wed 11-Fri 13 Mar — University Theatre. **FEMALE TROUBLE (formerly Les Oeufs Malades): The Family Album — reviewed issue 43.** BRISTOL: Fri 6 & Sat 7 — Bristol Arts Centre. CROYDON: Tues 10 & Wed 11 — Warehouse Theatre. **INCUBUS THEATRE: The Old Testament Floorshow. 'Our intention is to illuminate myths, redefine cliches and above all to provoke and entertain . . .'** STOCKTON ON TEES: Fri 6 & Sat 7 Mar — Dovecot Arts Centre. EXMOUTH: Tues 10 Mar — Rolle College. EXETER: Wed 11 & Thur 12 Mar — Exeter College. TAUNTON: Fri 13 & Sat 14 — Brewhouse Theatre. NEWCASTLE: Tues 17 Mar — Polytechnic. WOLFEND: Wed 18 & Thurs 19 Mar — Wolfend Youth Theatre. **JOINT STOCK: Say Your Prayers by Nick Darke — reviewed this issue.** SHEFFIELD : Fri 6 & Sat 7 Mar — Crucible Theatre. COVENTRY: Tues 10-Sat 14 Mar* — Warwick University Arts Centre. MOLD: Tues 17-Sat 21Theatr Clwyd **MONSTROUS REGIMENT: Mourning Pictures by Honor Moore — reviewed this issue.** BIRMINGHAM: Fri 6 & Sat 7 Mar — Aston Centre for the Arts, Gestna Green (021-359-3979). LONDON: Tues 19-Sat 28 Mar — Tricycle Theatre, 269 Kilburn High Road (01-328-8626). **OXFORD PLAYHOUSE COMPANY: No End of Blame by Howard Barker — reviewed issue 50.** BRIGHTON: Tues 3-Sat 7 Mar — Gardner Arts Centre, University Road, Falmer (0273 685447). **PAINES PLOUGH: Beef by David Pownall — reviewed this issue.** COLERAINE: Tues 3-Sat 7 Mar — Riverside Theatre (0265 51388). **7:84 ENGLAND: Night Class.** LONDON: Fri 20 & Sat 21 — Battersea Arts Centre. **7:84 SCOTLAND present 7:84 England's One Big Blow.** ABERGAVENNY: Fri 6 Mar — Drama Centre. SHOTTS: Thurs 12 & Fri 13 — Community Arts Centre. GLASGOW: Sat 14 Mar — Third Eve Centre. EDINBURGH: Tues 17 Mar — Art College. DUNDEE: Wed 18 — Roseangle Labour Club. GOREBRIDGE: Thur 19 Mar — Leisure Centre.

On side two, Vogel get down with some heavy rock. I'm sure I must have missed something. **NIKKI SUDDEN: Back to the Start (Rough Trade), MODERN JAZZ: In my Sleep (Magnet), DEPECHE MODE: Dreaming of Me (Mute).** Amiable and aimless.

Rob Hollier

Plays

SAY YOUR PRAYERS, by Joint Stock. See listings future venues.

LIKE ONE in three Americans, Joint Stock are Born Again. Their new production features a ranting revivalist, a wet vicar and a frog- thematically linked by the water which bounds the stage and fills the font. The frog, embodying Nature, leaps and croaks as naturalistically as possible for a human in green tights, in the grounds of the Roman prison where St.Paul is incarcerated. His conversation with a fellow-female-prisoner makes explicit the opposition of pagan humanism and prescriptive evangelism; her stand for the life-force against his anti-feminism is exhilarating, but powerless in the face of his mono-maniac cultism. Paul wins out, in ancient Rome as in modern America.

Jane Bryce

BEEF by David Powell. Theatr Clwyd, Mold, Feb 16-21. Wyvern Theatre, Swindon, Feb 23-25. Riverside Theatre, Coleraine.

PAINES PLOUGH'S tour of another deeply-hewn vessel from all-rounder Pownall, poet, author and playwright, provided a perfect tragi-comic tale to climax the Beano festival at Stratford's Theatre Royal in east London. Its mingling of 12th century Irish monks' legends about cultural delight and defiance and the Pope's recent peace mission to the Emerald Isle struck a timely historic note, with Paisley's private army threatening martyrdom like their loyalist ancestors.

John Adams' roller coaster direction gives his cast ample chance to shine – not least Fiona Victory as leaderene Maeve, by turns charming and impish. Shame then that such winsome entertainment is denied to children through seemingly one gory blood spurt. Worth missing a pint of anyone's Guinness, if not the red stuff, to catch it in transit. Second best, listen in to the BBC version in its Radio '81 series.

Paul Collins

MOURNING PICTURES by Honor Moore. MONSTROUS REGIMENT ON TOUR, seen Exeter 20.2.81, see listings for future venues.

SEVEN YEARS ago Honor Moore's mother died of cancer; the journal which she kept became this play – if play it is. There is little dramatic action. In lengthy monologues the daughter picks at the sores of her guilt but with no technique to distil the emotions, distance the feelings, the result is too subjective to give any sense of universality.

A superb performance by Aviva Goldkorn as the dying mother, and inventive, percussive, music by Tony Haynes can't save the piece. Monstrous Regiment's mistake was to choose it in the first place.

Anna Searle

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DEEP CITY by Frank Whitten Common Stock Theatre Co seen at The Last Chance, Masbro Road, London W14; see listings for future venues.

KENNY WEARS an armband: it's with his Y-fronts, freshly ironed. Eheh is Spanish, but could be mistaken for a Pakistani 'down the amusements'. 'Wrong place, wrong time, wrong man' he calls himself.

In Frank Whitten's skilfully drawn new play the background to racial violence is given a human face. Blending humour with the horror of history repeating itself it gently forces recognitions and doesn't numb with over-simplification.

But as we follow BM skin Kenny (Nic Jeune) from practising martial arts in his bedroom to the riverside where he uses his flick-knife, personal responsibility overshadows the political. Grappling with murder, he asks well-wishing ghost Mary (Jane Bashford) how things can be changed. 'Give yourself up' is the reply – somehow out of keeping with the play's serious political intentions.

Nigel Pollitt

Films

THE TRIALS OF ALGER HISS, directed by John Lowenthal USA 1979. Shown at London Film Festival last year, now to be released.

A HUNDRED and sixty six minutes of newsreels and interviews but not as tedious as it sounds. For one thing Rosenthal confronts witnesses, jurors and investigators with new evidence on the case *on camera* and records their instant reactions. The Hiss case (1949-50) was the first of the great red witch-hunts in Cold War USA, which sets the pattern for McCarthy and also set Richard Shithouse Nixon on his path to glory. The awkwardness in the enterprise is that the characters are so black and white: Nixon, the nark Whittaker Chambers and prosecutor Murphy are so unspeakably evil, and Hiss himself so ineffably righteous. But it's very good to see that even in those times there were some people around with integrity and radical politics. As Hiss says, "I wasn't a Communist, but if being a Communist means supporting the New Deal and the United Nations, I don't mind being called one."

Tim Gopsill

EL SALVADOR – THE PEOPLE WILL WIN
Directed by Diego de la Texera

WHEN HISTORY cannot be written with the pen, it must be written with the rifle. So spoke Farabundo Marti, the revolutionary leader who was shot during El Salvador's worker rebellion in 1932. Today the rifle is again in the forefront of Salvador's history, but this time it is being closely followed by the camera.

The People Will Win is an eighty minute documentary made by the rebels under the noses of the military. The documentary voice is kept to a minimum, and people are left to speak for themselves. It is a film of imagery. The army in action. The aftermath, dead bodies and a widow crying. Scenes of the peasants and the rich. The fighting and the funerals. A 13 year old boy crying for the revenge of his murdered father. And most disquiting of all the gentle beauty of the country.

We are shown the people's view of their country, their oppression, and their struggle. And at the end we are given something to take away with us. Their hope.

Thursday 5 March to Sunday 8 plus Wednesday 11 March at 5pm and 7pm at the ICA. Also showing on same days at 9pm,
El Salvador – Portrait of a Liberated Zone.

John Connor

Cinema

Gloria: the sublime transgressor



Feminist-sympathising mainstream commercial movies raise all kinds of doubts and questions. Films like Gloria, Alien, Comes a Horseman and Coma do succeed in bringing a revised image of women before a large audience, but many feminist critics and film-makers believe that too much is compromised by values inherent in the narrative forms. They see womens' needs best represented by feminist independent cinema and new, rethought cinematic forms. *Martin Sutton* has been to see Gloria and has some thoughts on the subject.

AS WELL as such arty 'pop feminism' as Girlfriends (78), An Unmarried Woman, Turning Point and Julia (all 77), Hollywood has recently invested in several *action* films that feature women as the lead protagonists. Apart from the intriguing female gangster cycle from Roger Corman's New World Films (celebrated in the recent N.F.T. Season), there have been such notable titles as Wanted: the Sundance Woman (T.V. film, '76), Coma ('77), Comes a Horseman ('78), The China Syndrome ('79) and Alien ('79). Indeed, the last two movies have lead protagonists originally written as male roles.

John Cassavetes' new film, *Gloria*, falls somewhere between the two types. While it is a film about guns and the mechanics of physical survival, it dispenses with much possible tension in favour of the depiction of a bizarre relationship between a middle-aged woman and a child and their increasing sense of detachment from the everyday world (the city becomes progressively alien, strange and threatening).

The plot involves a woman who is asked to take care of the youngest child of a family threatened by the Mafia. After the family is wiped out, the boy and Gloria are hunted throughout the city of New York as they desperately attempt to leave and head for Pittsburgh.

Gloria herself is a complex character to come to terms with. She is not the liberated jean-clad Jane Fonda of Comes a Horseman, neither is she the young, energetic sexual predator of the New World Films (which at their worst, simply switch male aggressor for female in mere role reversal). She is in her late forties, has seen it all, and has chosen to go it alone. Her independence, her sign of having made it, is her life-style – haute couture clothes, two tastefully decorated apartments, and what seems to be an endless supply of hundred-dollar notes. It is a life-style style, moreover, which was earned by an involvement with one of the Mafia elite which she is now in battle with.

The relationship with the boy is delicate, uncertain, and often thorny. She must come to terms with being involved again with someone else, with sharing her life, and he must fight hard against parental conditioning to make him hard and 'manly', not to mention learn to face a world in which his parents no longer live. Cassavetes observes this troubled communication with great sensitivity and without the bludgeoning insistence that characterizes some of his work. In fact, I can only think of one complaint with regard to the central relationship: the implication that Gloria's life had something missing from it, that it was somehow incomplete before. This is suggested by a neat bit of symbolism whereby she loses her cat as she gains the boy – from a child substitute to the real thing!

Any misgivings apart, the film's real centre is the subversive vision of a woman refusing to back down and say 'Yes' to one of the male-dominated systems (big league crime) which manipulate city life. Gloria proves to be as 'tough' as they are when backed into a corner and manages to keep one step ahead of her pursuers all the time. It is a sublime transgression. It should have been Clint Eastwood or Steve McQueen up there, but it was Gena Rowlands instead, sending a shudder of delight down the spines of the audience all around me who signed and gasped in satisfaction. Cassavetes is no stranger to films with a feminist sympathy (Faces, '68, Husbands, '70, A Woman Under the Influence, '74), and here he produces what must so far be the climax of the female action movie. It even has a positive conclusion.

Germany, Ulrich Plenzdorf's *The New Sorrows of Young W.*, which in April transferred to the Cockpit Theatre in London. In May 1980, the Theatre Underground's commitment to performing plays of a wide range of theatrical styles was demonstrated by *The Perfect Alibi*, a fast-moving black comedy of police corruption specially commissioned from Nick Dear, an exciting new playwright currently writing for Red Ladder. In August 1980 the Theatre Underground took *The New Sorrows* and *The Perfect Alibi* to the Edinburgh Festival. Their most recent work was another special commission, a play on local themes by Steve Gooch, called *Landmark*.

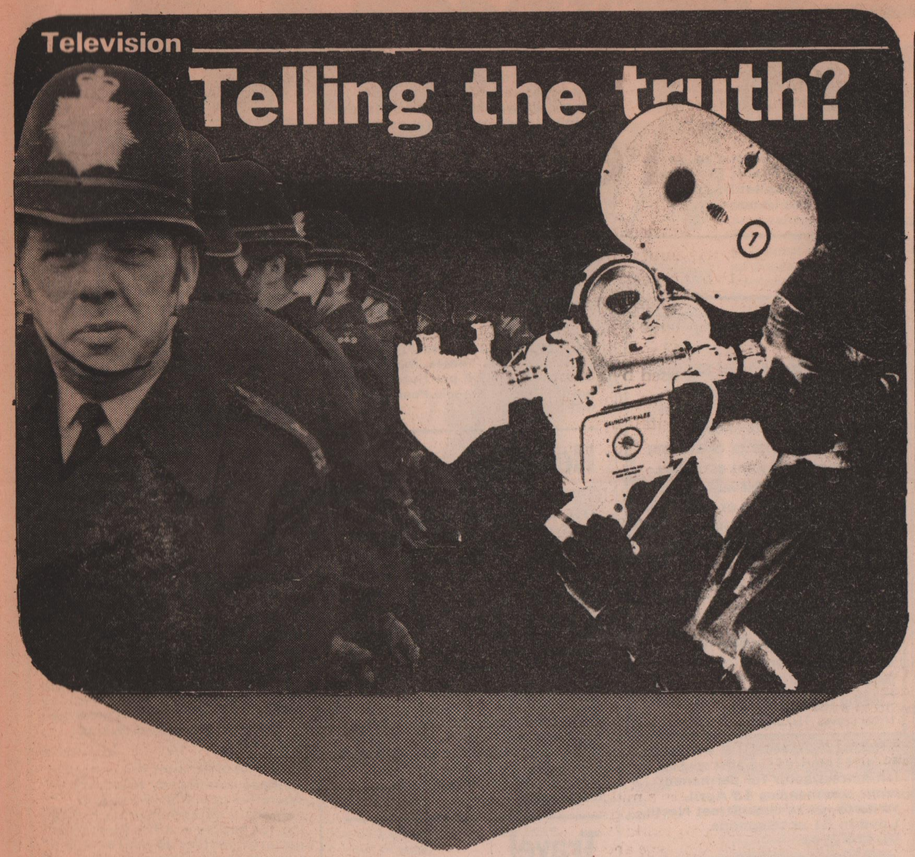
Possibly the Theatre Underground's most ambitious project to date is scheduled for May of this year, a British premiere of Heiner Muller's *Cement*. Another play from the German Democratic Republic, *Cement* was first staged by the Berliner Ensemble in 1973, and has since gained an international reputation, as a major piece of theatre-writing combining the epic tradition of Brecht with the theatre of Artaud and the surrealists. The concepts underlying the Theatre Underground's work imply a collective approach, and they are currently evolving a new company and a democratic design and production process specifically tailored to the radical formal structure and content of *Cement*.

Howard sums up his idea of the Theatre Underground as 'a genuinely and fundamentally opposed, rigorous, principled and progressive theatre, a theatre of the imagination of the polity, of the people's imagination active in the polity.' It is to be hoped that such a theatre, through the consistency of its theory and practice, will provide solutions to some of those problems which the political theatre movement in this country has so clearly failed to solve.

* *Essex University New Plays series, distributed by Pluto Press, £1.*

Television

Telling the truth?



Fiction dressed up as fact? *Mike Craig* looks at two recent drama-documentaries.

IN THE last couple of weeks we've seen both prisoner Jimmy Boyle and union leader Frank Chapple on TV: the first in a film of his autobiography, 'A Sense of Freedom', the second in 'The Union', about ballot-rigging in the ETU (as it then was) in the early 1960s.

But neither appeared in front of the camera themselves (in Boyle's case it would have been difficult). Both were played by actors. For both 'A Sense of Freedom' and 'The Union' were plays, and both raised the question of where facts stop and fiction starts.

It can be a potent mix. As Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington said after ATV's 'Death of a Princess', 'The new formula of mixing fact with fiction, dramatisation masquerading as documentary, can be misleading'. And after Tony Garnett and Ken Loach's four plays about police corruption, 'Law and Order', were screened, the BBC had major problems with the Metropolitan Police and the Prison Officers Association.

In fact the formula is not new. In the 1950s the BBC used documentary drama for programmes as diverse as covering Scotland Yard, bankruptcy and the immigration service, as part of its brief to educate and inform. These programmes were attacked for their complicity; as Derek Hill wrote in *The Listener* in 1962: 'I don't suppose the series will dare suggest an immigration officer can ever behave unreasonably, can abuse his powers, can ever become anything less than a sagacious and trustworthy protector of society'.

But recently the format has been used (most notably by Loach and Garnett) for much of the best left-wing drama: 'Law and Order', 'The Spongers', 'The Big Flame', and 'Days of Hope'. Certainly Loach knows precisely what he's doing and the effect he hope hopes to have.

'If you are making a documentary,' he has said, 'and there was just a cameraman in the room and he was following the conversation, he would never be at someone when they started to speak . . . That's what we tried to do, to let the conversation call for the cuts, rather than the cameraman knowing who was going to speak next.'

It works; a studio audience watching 'Law and Order' thought a caption should have been shown every so often to remind them they weren't watching a documentary.

And at a recent day school on drama-documentary organised by SEFT and the British Film Institute, it was suggested that it was precisely this unease about the mix that made it a 'progressive' form – one which challenged a lot of the assumptions of TV.

But is it enough? The problem is that in a series like 'Days of Hope', a working class history of the years between the Great War and the General Strike, (realist drama) means that while the contradications are opened up by the mixture of 'real' historical figures and 'fictional' ordinary characters, they're resolved again by the film-maker. The viewer isn't left to do any work.

John Caughie (writing in *Screen* Vol 21 no 3) argues that the way out is through a mixture of the *forms* of drama and documentary. In 'The Cheviot, The Stag and the Black, Black Oil', for example, historical reconstruction is intercut with documentary of both the 7:84 Theatre Company's tour of the Highlands, and of working conditions in the oil industry.

But even that isn't enough. The Granada drama-documentary group, which has produced 'Invasion'. about Czechoslovakia in 1968, among others, regard the form merely as current affairs by other means, a way of showing events at which the camera wasn't present. In that context, the use of documentary or news film is no more than an attempt to underwrite the programme's authenticity.

'The Union' used its documentary footage precisely for that purpose. A real interview from 'Panorama' of the time 'authenticated' the view of history put across in the play: that of a brave individual fighting a corrupt union. The real news pictures at the end of the play, complete with dry factual voice-over, only served to confirm the point.

This mixture of fact and fiction, in both form and content, can cause unease and disrupt the way we understand TV. But it isn't enough. Jeremy Isaacs made 'A Sense of Freedom' not because he thought it raised problems about violence of the prison system, but because it was, he said, a good story. And Mrs Thatcher would have had all her opinions about the trade union movement confirmed by 'The Union'. And no doubt did.

COAL MINER'S DAUGHTER, directed by Michael Apted

HEY Y'ALL! Ain't that the first lady of country and western music Miss Loretta Lynn up there on that stage? And ain't that her havin' a breakdown on stage and rediscov'rin' the security of the fam'ly before her triumphant comeback? Well, hell, it sure is.

This is Loretta Lynn's film biography. Unfortunately it's never again as good as its opening scenes, when we see Sissy Spacek as 13-year-old Loretta (can I call y'that?) on a pony pulling a younger brother on a sledge through th the woods to meet her father as he comes off shift at a Kentucky mine. And once she moves away from Kentucky to join her husband – she marries at 14 – it's downhill all the way.

Endless shots of coaches driving along roads and singers on stages don't make great movies. And there's none of the contradictions or tensions of stardom here that you get in, say, 'The Rose', let alone 'Nashville'. Biopics assume that the famous lead more interesting lives than most of us. It ain't necessarily so. They just earn more money.

Andy Curry

HEAD OVER HEELS directed by Joan Micklin Silver.

OPENING WHERE 'boy has already lost girl', the film stutters with intermittant flashbacks of how boy meets and gets to know girl – to a typical ending. Charles (John Heard), a young government worker, is infatuated with Laura (Mary Beth Hurt), hopes and waits while she makes up her mind as to whether she wants to be with him or remain with her husband.

The choice of stability versus risk/excitement is portrayed by cliche following cliche, until Laura finally realises that she does indeed love Charles. A 'contemporary romantic comedy', laughter does not abound, nor, at the end, does patience with the film. 'Entertainment' which somehow misses.

Jane Critchley

Sorry! – Typesetting gremlins got into the piece in *Leveller* 49 about complaining about television programmes. The number of BBC-TV is in fact 01-743-8000. And while we're at it complaints about BBC Radio should go to the Duty Officer at Broadcasting House, on 01-580-4468.

Classifieds

Rates: 10p a word. Ads must be prepaid by cheque or PO made out to the Leveller (1979) Ltd. Subscribers get the first 15 words free. Box around ad with key words in bold costs £2 extra and the box number service costs £1 extra.

For sale

'FOOD: NEED GREED AND MYOPIA'. Concise, wide-ranging account: nutrition, agriculture, multinationals, politics, economics, starvation. 60 pages £1.60 from Earthright Publications, 8 Blaney Row, Newburn, Newcastle upon Tyne.

'REVOLUTION': OUR first publication includes 20 basic policies 28pp A4, £1.00 post free from Christian Socialist Revolutionary Party, 18 Church Street, Bishops Castle, Shropshire.

PHONETAPPERS AND PUNTERS CLUB SONGBOOK. Songs from the famous Labour revue, plus 30 traditional workers songs, 60p from Dave Crosher, 18 Cornwall Avenue, Glasgow G73.

INTERACTION 'POWERPLAYS', Open University Theatre (Milton Keynes), Thursday 19 - Saturday 21 February 8.00pm. Tickets £1.50 from 0908 653948, or on the door.

WHERE DO disabled people fit in our society? Flat available mid-April in co-op type housing scheme designed to support disabled people live in the community. Write Secretary, Tenants Group, 32 Grove Road, Sutton-in-Ashfield, Notts.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIALISM. 1, Grove Gardens, Leeds LS6 4EG. s.a.e. for details.

ANTI-SEXIST men's newsletter. Sub — £3.60; single copy — 30p. ASMN, 190, Totterdown St., London SW17.

ASTROLOGER OFFERS birth chart and guidence to a problem or question: £8. For full character analysis and future trends. Send for details, John Willmott, Millbrae, Bunessan, Mull, Argyll.

BADGES: Missiles kill, one inch size, produced by the Ecology Party. Send 22p to 66 Cobden Street, Stourbridge, West Midlands.

HOLOPHRASE: EXAMINES language in political discourse and political intelligence in poetry. Subscription £5 for three big issues. 13A Annesley Rd, London SE3.

FOOD AND politics: a socialist critique. Send 50p or £1 for two issues to Agricapital BSSRS 9, Poland Street, London WIV 3DG.

Work

STUDENT COMMUNITY ACTION.
The Students Union of Sheffield City Polytechnic requires;
a full time Community Action Officer to promote and co-ordinate a wide range of student and community joint activities.
Applicants with relevant experience, qualifications or aspirations to encourage student involvement in the community of Sheffield should write or ring the administrator SCPUS at;
Phoenix Building,
Pond Street
Sheffield S1 2BW (Sheffield 738 934) for further details.
Salary AP2/3
Closing date 13/3/81
Interviews 19/3/81

BROADSIDE MOBILE workers' theatre requires socialist musician/actress/actor for permanent work commencing 13 April. Write to: 241e High Street North, London E1 or telephone 01 470 2581.

DOCTOR PARTNER needed for S.E. London radical collective, GP practice from June. Obstetric commitment essential. Closing date 9th March. Phone 01 852 7623.

BICYCLE REPAIRS done at none rip off prices, no oh you'll have to have a new everything, put down attitudes. Just good service, Cedric cycles (London) Tel 01 737 2104 or sometimes 01 278 0146. Bike trailers coming soon when I have the time.

WOODWORK: playgroup, playhouses, kitchens, platform beds, playbunks, shelving, etc. Any carpentry done at reasonable rates. Phone Pete 01 674 0971.

PAINTING AND DECORATING CO-OP ¾ If you have room in yours for me please contact box 3 the Leveller.

JOIN SELF-HELP Community Cultural Project. Opportunity for men/women (16+) to work alongside tradespeople on site and join kids/adults cultural programme (sound, film and printing). Accommodation provided, contribute towards food. Small wage negotiable after six months. Great Georges Project/The Blackie, Great Georges Street, Liverpool 1. (051 709 5109).

WORKERS WANTED by progressive playgroup in Islington, London. Send C.V. to: The Playgroup, c/o 16, Richmond Ave., London N1.

TYPING FAST accurate; electric typewriter. Theses, manuscripts etc. £1.50 per thousand words. Phone Maggie Pearce 0985 213891.

Housing

THE LEVELLER is still being produced from a stinking, smelly, over-crowded, sweaty, cold, dilapidated, excuse for an office which we're going to have to move from soon. So if anyone has anywhere or any suggestions for a place for us to move to which is in central London and is bigger than the two small rooms we at present occupy please contact us at the office (tip) on 01 278 0146.

EDINBURGH — ROOM, rooms, flat or house wanted. Immediately or soon. Anything considered. Phone Mark 031 556 1499 or write 7A Bellevue Crescent, Edinburgh.

Travel

FREE TRAVEL ADVERTISING: Want a partner to hitch to Greece with? Someone to share petrol costs on the way to that conference? A third crew member for a canal cruise? We're introducing a new free small ad service for readers. Simply send us your ad, maximum 50 words, and we'll put it in for nothing. No box numbers, no commercial operators, but thousands of eager readers...

Wanted

WANTED DETAILS of dissidents in Cuba, help to produce Newsletters etc. on human rights/disarmament, East/West. Edmund, 13, Wellington Rd, London W5. 01-579 7625.

WANTED — the Leveller is in need of donations of equipment and furniture, chairs, tables, typewriters, rulers, pens, scrap paper. You name it, we need it. There is a free sub with every reasonable donation. Any offers to Adam at the Leveller (01 278 0146).

Meetings

MARX & SOCIOLOGY. Meeting of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. 8pm Thursday March 12. Price Albert, Wharfdale Rd, London N1.

Miscellaneous

WOULD THE PEOPLE who brought the ad in about answering questions on sexuality and the media please get in touch with Adam at the Leveller because I can't find your address in the grotty basement we call our office.

CARTWHEEL aims to grow into a village community based on co-operative common ownership, consensus decisionmaking and caring for people and the earth. Our national contact address is now 6 Cresent Road, Kingston Hill, Surrey.

THE GROUP
Non-sexist, leaderless, radical/socialist group seeks like minded people for pub meetings, parties, discussions, cinema, walks, country weekends, book loan, etc. London. Shift workers welcome.
Contact Leveller box No.69.

Send to: **Leveller Classifieds, 57 Caledonian Road, London N1.**

I enclose ..... for ..... no. of issues.

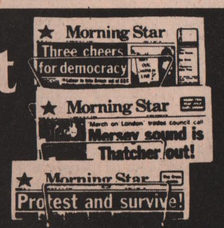
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OFFSET PRINT WORKER, EXPERIENCED, WANTED TO JOIN SOCIALIST/FEMINIST COLLECTIVE.
Write to:— Community Press, 2a St Pauls Rd., London N1.
(01-226 0580)

BACK PAGE



A still from El Salvador — The People Will Win. See March 13 and review on page 20.

Events

Friday 6 March
LONDON

● **No Nukes Music Gig.** In the evening at the Roundhouse Pub, Wandsworth Common, Northside. £1.

● **European Theatre of War** Nuclear Cabaret. Hard hitting humorous cabaret against the arms race. Interaction, 17 Wilkin St., London NW5 at 7.30.

Saturday 7 March
LONDON

● **The State Teach In.** The Leveller presents a day of talks, debates, film, theatre, food and novelty entertainments, all except probably the food on the subject of the state. 11am — 7pm at the Refectory, Polytechnic of Central London, New Cavendish Street, London W1. Tubes Great Portland Street and Goodge Street. £2 waged, £1 unwaged.

● **National Conference of Socialist Photography** Public Meeting. Or the forum of social photographers of diverse practices. The purposes will be to establish a new committee and discuss plans for future activities. 2pm at Oxford House, Derbyshire Street, E2. Tube Bethnal Green. Details 980 8798.

● **Prison Psychiatry.** A Hackney WEA day school. Black minority groups, Women and Broadmoor, Prisons and Mental Hospirals, Psychiatric and Anti-Psychiatric views, 10.30-4.30pm at Centerprise, 136/8 Kingsland High Street, E5. 50p, unwaged 25p.

● **Gay Community Entertainments Disco.** 8pm at the Hemingford Arms, Offord Road, N1. 50p, unwaged 25p.

ARMAGH/BELFAST

● **Mass picket of Armagh jail,** in support of political status, on International Women's Day. Also discussions, rally, social in Belfast. All events and accommodation are mixed but transport from London is only open to women. Contact Di Doris 10-691 8298 or write to Coord. Cttee. for International Women's Day at Armagh, c/o 374 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1

GLASGOW

● **Scottish Council for Civil Liberties** conference. 10.30am-5.30pm at Moir Hall, Mitchell Theatre Complex, Granville Street, Glasgow. Edinburgh details 041 332 5960.

● **Third World First Day School.** Subjects power, energy and arms. Details from TWF, 232 Cowley Road, Oxford. Oxford 45678. £1.50

Monday 9 March
LONDON

● **Women and the Russian Revolution.** Speaker Alix Holt. This Big Flame discussion meeting will deal with the issues raised by Alix in his article in the current issue of Revolutionary Socialism. At the Bull and Mouth, 31 Bloomsbury Way WC1. 30p.

Tuesday 10 March
LONDON

● **Violence against Women.** Speakers from Womens Aid. 8pm at S.U. Conference Room, City of London Poly, Fair Holt House, 102 Whitechapel High Street E1.

Wednesday 11 March
MANCHESTER

● **Beyond the Fragments.** Local group discussion on 'Socialist centres'. 7.30pm at 'Britons Protection', situated at the corner of Albion Street and Great Bridgewater Street.

Thursday 12 March
ST ALBANS

● **STAND (St Albans CND)** monthly meeting. 8pm at Jubilee Centre, Catherine Street. Details Julian St, St. Albans 64372.

Friday 13 March
LONDON

● Dance/Social Benefit for **Tower Hamlets CND.** Live music/disco/cheap bar. At Dame Collet Hse, Benjonson Road, E1. .50p Details 980 6036.

● **El Salvador — The People Will Win.** The guerrillas' own film of the revolutionary struggle, plus a Salvadorian speaker, discussion and music. 8pm at St Matthew's Hall, 50 Milson Road, Shepherd's Bush. £1.50 waged, £1 unwgd.

Saturday 14 March
LONDON

● **Gay Community Entertainments** presents Joanne Richler in concert plus disco. 8pm at the Hemingford Arms, Offord Road, N1. £1, unwaged50p

● **'London Neighbourhood History'.** Speaker Charles Chiltern, who is an expert on VictorianLondon. Event organised by the Central London Workers' Educational Association. 2-5pm at 32 Tavistock Square, WC1. Tubes Goodge St, or Euston Square. £1 including tea and bicis. Details Iris Bonham 01-636 3186.

SHEFFIELD

● Demo against nuclear weapons. Organised by the **Sheffield Peace Liason Committee.** Details Jim Coleman 0742 693658.

MILTON KEYNES

● **March & Rally** March to underground nuclear shelter and control room at Sherwood Drive, Bletchley, followed by rally. Assemble 11am Stanier Square, Bletchly (in front of co-op).

Monday 16 March
LONDON

● **'Gays and Ireland'** Speakers from London Irish Gay Group, 8pm at Hemmingford Arms, Offord Road, N1.

Tuesday 17 March
BIRMINGHAM

● Film **'Rank and File'.** Directed by Ken Loach. 7.30 at the Star Club, Essex Street.

Thursday 19 March
BIRMINGHAM

● Viewing Session: Race, Film and TV 10am - 5pm at the Birmingham Arts Lab. With a presentation by Jim Pines. Details Frank Challenger 0785 59231.

Advance notice

March 21

Against Middle East War. A national conference organised by Liberation. 10am-5pm at Conway Hall. £1. Details from Liberation, 313 Caledonian Road, London N1. 01 607 0465.

Socialist Feminist Forum on 'The Nationality Bill'. The first of discussions following on from the Socialist Feminist National Conference on 'Women and Imperialism'. Speakers, film, workshops and creche. 1-5pm at the Polytechnic of North London, Holloway Road. Tube Holloway Road. £1 waged, 50p unwaged. Women only.

March 26

Journalists Against Nuclear Extermination (JANE). Inaugural meeting, to be addressed by Duncan Campbell and Melvyn Bragg. 7.45pm, NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields, London WC1.

March 28

Gay Rights at Work Conference. At Sheffield Polytechnic. Details of workshops, speakers, crashpads, TU sponsorship etc from GRAW, 7 Pickwick Court, London SE24. 01-857 3793.

National Housing Liaison Committee day of action. NHLC intends to bring people from all over the country for a show of solidarity with key struggles in London. They're also collecting signatures for a national petition, and they add 'the point is the collecting and contacting, rather than hoping the government will take any notice.'

Campaigns

● **A call for International Solidarity for Chile's Homeless**
According to Church estimates 25% of the population are homeless or living in overcrowded conditions. Consequently last year several land seizures were planned. However the Secret Police managed to stop all but one. On July 22 1500 homeless shanty dwellers seized a plot of land, about the size of a small football pitch. They have remained their in deplorable conditions ever since, continuing their fight for the right of a place to live.

You can help by sending a donation to the Chile Relief Fund at 266 Pentonville Road, London who will ensure the money reaches the people of 'La Bandera'. And by sending letters asking that the people in the 'Toma de La Bandera' be given proper housing. (La Bandera is also the name of the sector, so it is important to stress the land seizure.) Letters to: Ministerio de la Vivienda, Edificio Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile and copies to Comision Chilena De Derechos Humanos, Alameda Bernado O'Higgins 1584, 2do. Piso, Santiago, Chile. The latter will transmit the letters to the people of La Bandera.

● **Harrisburg Day**
Anti-nuclear groups in East Anglia are planning co-ordinated action on March 28, Harrisburg Day. A suggestion is for actions to be based on local electricity showrooms. Any interested groups/individuals are asked to get in touch. Contact Alan Hines, Cambridge 314024.

● **Stop URENCO Alliance**
Action is being planned for mobilising a campaign this summer to pressurise for Britain's withdrawal from the British-Dutch-West German uranium enrichment and marketing consortium (URENCO). A planning meeting is being organised for April. Details SUA, c/o London Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1.

● **National Council for the Welfare of Prisoners Abroad**
This is the first organisation set up to help all British prisoners abroad. It aims to provide a welfare service and a 'voice' for prisoners as well as to act as a pressure group to lobby the government. Contact NCWPA, c/o 1 Elgin Ave, London W9. 01 289 3876.

● **Socialist Humanist Association**
A new organisation for agnostic and atheist socialists. If you think the Labour movement needs an approach which is radical on religion as well as on politics contact Colin Mills, Amersham on the Hill, Bucks (Amersham 6103) or Terry Liddle, 83 Gregory Crescent, Eltham, London SE9.

The deadline for information to go in Back Pages events listings is Friday of the week before publication. Listings run fourteen days from the Friday of publication week.

This postcard was designed by Monica Ross for Women Oppose Nuclear Threat. 10p each or 10 for 95p + 14p p+p from Red Feather, c/o Flat 3, 3 Mount Pleasant, Kings Heath, Birmingham.

